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ABSTRACT

This study presents a grammatical analysis of the Kanuri language as it is spoken in Yerwa, the capital of Borno State in Nigeria. The material is organized in such a way as to be useful to students of the Kanuri language, to linguists, and to Kanuri people interested in the grammar of their language. The text is organized in pedagogical order having eight main sections, each of which is further subdivided into chapters. (AMH)

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The Kanuri Language

a reference grammar

by

John P. Hutchison

FL012814

African Studies Program
University of Wisconsin
Madison 1981

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A REFERENCE GRAMMAR
OF THE KANURI LANGUAGE

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Principal Investigator: A. Neil Skinner

U.S. Office of Education
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African Studies Program

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FOREWORD

Kanuri is one of the three major languages spoken in the Muslim, northern states of Nigeria and has suffered, unlike the other two, Hausa and Fulfulde, from comparative neglect by Western scholars. So I was encouraged in the rainy season of 1978 in Kano when John Hutchison expressed his readiness to undertake the work needed to produce this book. As a linguist, whose dissertation topic had been Kanuri syntax, a fluent speaker of the language, and one who had been involved in teaching in Maiduguri and advising in the Kanuri textbook program being developed there, he seemed the right person for the task. He has been, and I trust that users of this book will agree with me.

Major thanks are due to the U.S. Office of Education and, in particular Mrs. Julia Petrov, for financial support, encouragement and patience through the long months of the work; and to the African Studies Program of the University of Wisconsin, Madison and its Associate Director, Paul Beckett, for providing a home for the work and day-to-day assistance.

Lastly, it is my hope that scholars, in the U.S., in Nigeria, and wherever African languages are studied, will find much to profit from in Professor Hutchison's work.

A. Neil Skinner,
Department of African Languages and Literature,
University of Wisconsin, Madison

INTRODUCTION

The present work represents the culmination of my experience with the Kanuri and Kanembu languages from 1966 to the present. Having been trained to speak the Manga dialect of Kanuri as a Peace Corps Volunteer, I was then posted to a Kanembu speaking village on the eastern shores of Lake Chad where I had to quickly adapt to a very different dialect. As an employee of the Peace Corps subsequent to my service, I developed materials for and trained volunteers in that dialect of Kanembu. From early 1974 until late 1978 I worked as a Research Fellow and Lecturer in the Nigerian university system in Kano and Maiuuguri. There I was involved in the development of the Kanuri spelling system, and of Kanuri materials for Universal Free Primary Education (UPE) in Nigeria. We also developed a dictionary, and established a program in Kanuri Studies at the University of Maiduguri which today offers a B.A. degree. Throughout that time, a great many people contributed to my apprenticeship in the Kanuri and Kanembu languages, and their dialects. Among those whose contributions have had a direct impact on this present work are Wakkil Modu, Tijani El-Miskin, Shettima Bukar, and Alhaji Mustafa Mohammed. To them and to the countless others who helped in so many ways, I am extremely grateful.

Work on this project began with the preliminary drafting of the materials for the reference grammar during the fall semester of the 1979-80 academic year. After initial reaction to the draft from Professor Skinner, the materials were then tested in the classroom in a Kanuri Structure course during the spring semester of that year. Final typing of the manuscript was begun during the summer of 1980 and completed in 1981.

A Reference Grammar of the Kanuri Language is designed to present in a readily accessible fashion, all of the intricacies of the Kanuri language and its grammar. The plethora of Kanuri language material presented in the book is organized in such a way as to be useful to students of the Kanuri language, to linguists and other academics, and to Kanuri people interested in the grammar of their language. The material is organized in pedagogical order throughout the book, and it is hoped that this arrangement will readily lend itself to use in the language teaching classroom.

In the table of contents at the beginning of the book, only the major section and chapter titles are presented with page numbers. At the beginning of each major section, another table of contents provides a detailed outline of the chapters included in that major section, including all of the minor sections and subsections of each chapter. The chapters are grouped into eight major sections of from two to eight chapters each. The index at the end of the book is designed to help the reader find the various points in the book where a given topic is treated since many topics are only introduced early in the book and elaborated later.

The Kanuri Reference Grammar Project was initiated by Prof. A. Neil Skinner of the University of Wisconsin's Department of African Languages and Literature. For his foresight in recognizing the need for this project, for his invaluable comments, criticism and discussion of the material drafted for inclusion in the book, and for his patience throughout the preparation period, I am deeply indebted to him and extremely grateful. I would also like to express my thanks to Dr. Paul Beckett, Assistant Director of the African Studies Program and the entire staff of the African Studies Program for their excellent support in facilitating the project and making my time in Madison productive and enjoyable.

INTRODUCTION (cont.)

Likewise, the input of the Chairperson and the members of the Department of African Languages and Literature was greatly appreciated throughout the duration of the project.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the U.S. Office of Education's Foreign Language and Area Research Program, and expecially to Mrs. Julia Petrov, without whose patient support from the beginning to the end of the project, the work would have been impossible. I do hope that A Reference Grammar of the Kanuri Language will prove useful to Americans wishing to familiarize themselves with the Kanuri language, and will make a positive contribution towards our awareness of and sensitivity to other peoples, their languages and cultures, and will justify the efforts and resources commited to the project by all those involved in it.

John P. Hutchison

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

1S	first person singular
2S	second person singular
3S	third person singular
1P	first person plural
2P	second person plural
3P	third person plural
*	ungrammatical; unacceptable utterance
?	questionable utterance
≠	is not the same as; is not equivalent to
I	basic finite verb form
II	applied derived form of the verb
III	passive-reflexive derived form of the verb
IV	causative derived form of the verb
V	reduplicated-intensive derived form of the verb
A	Arabic (used to indicate borrowed words)
ant NP	antecedent NP of a relative clause construction (complex NP)
ASSOC	associative postposition
C	consonant
cl 1	verb class 1
cl 2	verb class 2
DET	determiner element; determiner element +də́
F	(ˆ) falling tone
H	(´) high tone
L	(`) low tone
L_oH	sequence of tones in the tone pattern of a word made up of any number of low tone syllables followed by final syllable high tone
M	(') mid tone
N	noun
NEC	noun emphasis completive aspect of the verb
neg	negative
NP	noun phrase
OBJ	object
o.s.	oneself
OSV	object-subject-verb (language typology order)
POS	possessive pronoun
R	(ˇ) rising tone
rel NP	relative NP of a relative clause construction (complex NP)
RRC	restrictive relative clause
SKO	Standard Kanuri Orthography
s.o.	someone
SOV	subject-object-verb (language typology order)
SVO	subject-verb-object (language typology order)
UPE	Universal Free Primary Education
V	vowel
VEC	verb emphasis completive aspect of the verb
vi	intransitive verb

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CHAPTER 1: THE KANURI LANGUAGE AND ITS DIALECTS

1. Introduction. The speakers of what is commonly referred to as the Kanuri language are the people, of the same name, who are today concentrated in Borno State in north-eastern Nigeria. The present study represents a grammatical analysis of the Kanuri language as it is spoken in Yerwa, which is the traditional Kanuri name for what is today known outside of the Kanuri world as Maiduguri. Maiduguri or Yerwa, is the capital of modern-day Borno State, and is as well the present traditional seat of the Shehu of Borno, king of the Kanuri people. Therefore, for both traditional reasons and also because of the modern-day political realities, the Yerwa dialect of Kanuri has emerged as perhaps the most important dialect that is spoken in Nigeria.

Greenberg's classification (1966:130) of Kanuri as a member of the Saharan branch of the Nilo-Saharan family of African languages has been widely accepted. He presents the Saharan languages as the second branch of his six branch Nilo-Saharan family in the following groupings: 2. Saharan: (a) Kanuri, Kanembu; (b) Teda, Daza; (c) Zaghawa, Berti. Greenberg (1971:423) slightly altered and simplified the Saharan sub-branch in a later publication, simply listing the major language of each grouping, as follows: 2. Saharan: Kanuri, Teda, Zaghawa, Berti. These he refers to as the four basic units of the Saharan sub-branch. It is thus apparent that the term *Kanuri* may be used to refer to the Yerwa dialect of the Kanuri and Kanembu languages, or, for classification purposes, it may be used to refer generally to the basic linguistic unit *Kanuri*, of the Saharan sub-branch, thus encompassing all of the dialects of the mutually intelligible languages *Kanuri* and *Kanembu*.

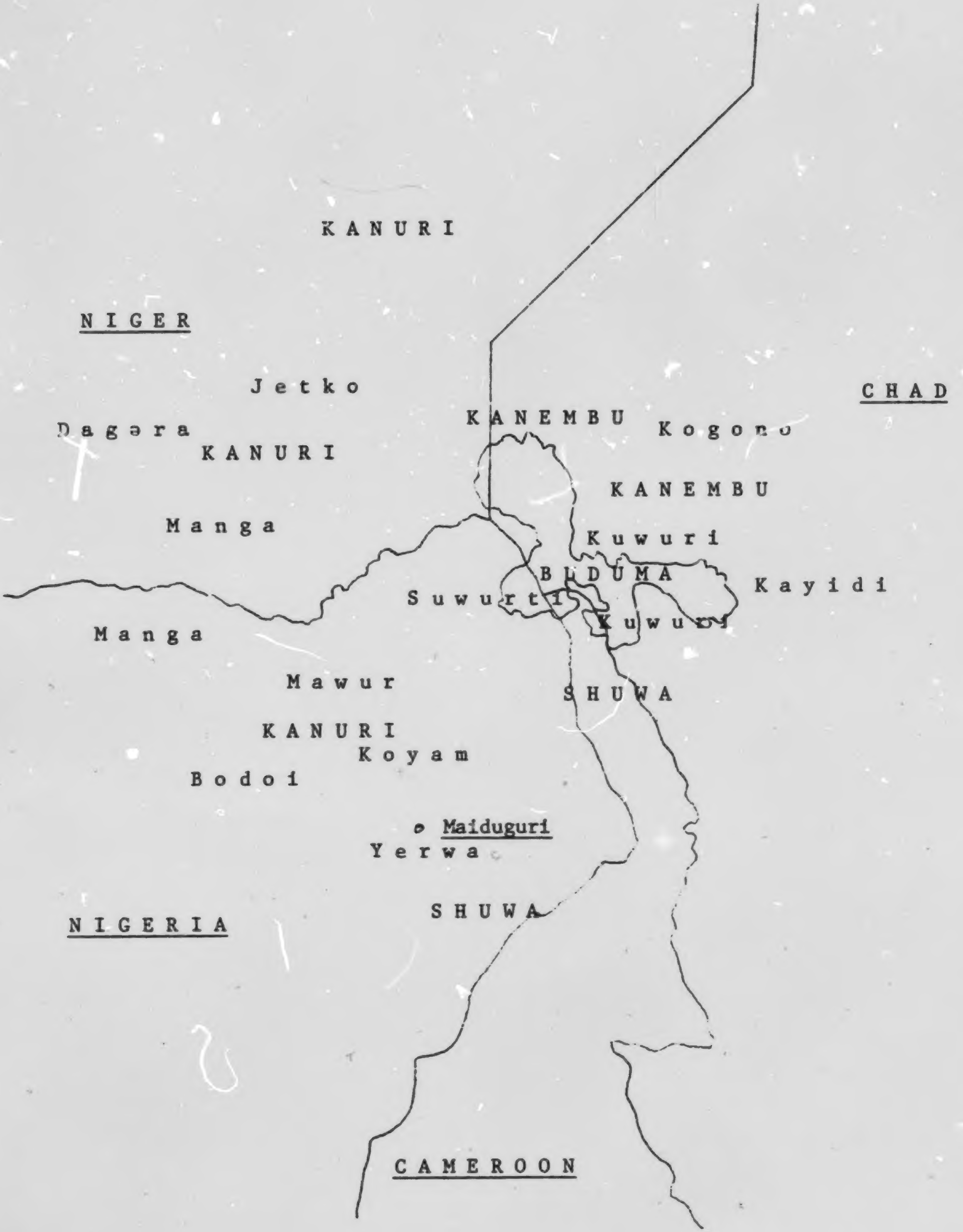
The languages Kanuri and Kanembu are spoken by the peoples of the same names who are today concentrated in the area to the west, north, and east of Lake Chad in central Africa. Although for the major part of their history they were linked in various ways as one linguistic unit in a common political entity, today they occupy parts of four different modern-day African nations. In a great variety of dialect forms, Kanuri and Kanembu are today spoken by substantial numbers of people in Nigeria, Niger, Chad, and by a smaller group in the Cameroon. They are concentrated in Borno State in north-eastern Nigeria, in eastern Niger from Zinder eastwards to the shores of Lake Chad, and in the Kanem, Lake, and Chari-Baguirmi Prefectures of the Republic of Chad. In spite of the division of these peoples effected by and reflected in the modern-day map of Africa, there is still a great deal of contact among the Kanuri and the Kanembu peoples of the four countries. There is recognition of traditional kings and rulers that crosses modern borders, intermarriage, a great deal of cultural contact, religious bonds, and the undeniable bond of a common language and history, the language thriving today not only in the various forms of traditional music and literature, but also in the modern educational system in certain of the countries.

Historians have used the term *Kanem* to refer to the vast empire which dominated the central Sudan region from about 1000 A.D. until its collapse during the fourteenth century (cf Cohen, 1976:12-19). The empire was concentrated in the sahel region north of Lake Chad, and the historical term has been preserved today to refer to that region;it is also the official name of the large prefecture in present-day Chad which occupies a portion of the realm of the Kanem empire. The term *Kanembu* is derived from *Kanem* through the application of the plural form +wú of the agentive suffix +ma, and thus means literally *people of Kanem, owners of Kanem*. Also in historical treatments, the term *Bornu* (today stripped of its 'colonial' spelling and pronunciation and changed to *Borno* to reflect its actual pronunciation in the Kanuri language) is used to refer to the region southwest of Lake Chad, and to the offshoot of the failing Kanem empire which was founded there during the fourteenth or the fifteenth century A.D. (Cohen, 1967:15). The members of the royal family, as well as other elements of the failing Kanem empire which left it and founded the Borno empire are commonly referred to as the *Kanuri*. If Tucker and Bryan (1956:47) are correct, this name was originally applied to the conquering people from Kanem. The commonly espoused etymology of the term *Kanuri* is that it is morphologically a place name, formed through the application of the suffix +ri, a morpheme used to derive nouns of place when applied to a noun referring to the occupant of that place. Thus it is possible that kànùrì < kanem+ri, which might literally translate as *the place of Kanem*. It might have originally been used by the invaders from the north to refer to the area which they had conquered in Borno. Thus historically speaking, the Kanembu language was once much more widely spoken than Kanuri, as the language of the Kanem empire, while Kanuri, as Greenberg (1971:425) states, is basically the language of its successor state, Borno. Today, in referring to the history of both the Kanembu and the Kanuri peoples, historians talk of the history of the Kanem-Borno empire.

Given this historical backdrop, it is clear that Kanuri and Kanembu represent basically one language. For first-language speakers of any of the wide range of dialects, Kanuri and Kanembu are almost perfectly interintelligible. Throughout the history of African language classification, regardless of the classifier or his system, Kanuri and Kanembu have been grouped together at the most immediate level of relationship. Koelle, (1854:10) in his Polyglotta Africana, refers to *Kanuri* and *Kanem* as *Bornu Dialects*. The speakers of Kanuri today far outnumber the speakers of Kanembu. It is likely that there are more than 2 million speakers of Kanuri in Nigeria alone, though reliable figures are not available. As the Borno empire grew from the fifteenth century onwards, it conquered and incorporated a variety of formerly independent ethno-linguistic entities. It is likely that the political and religious exigencies of the time, obligated such groups to assimilate culturally and linguistically as quickly as possible. Even today in Borno State one observes ethnic groups with no genetic linguistic relationship to the Kanuri, who are bilingual speakers of Kanuri and their own e.g. Chadic language, and who cosmetically and dresswise are identical to the Kanuri. This interpretation of the history of the Kanuri language is corroborated by linguistic evidence which indicates that there is considerably more dialect variation in Kanuri than in Kanembu, plus internal evidence that Kanuri has been much more affected by contact with other unrelated languages than has Kanuri.

2. The Major Dialects of Kanuri and Kanembu.

On the following map of the Lake Chad Region the languages of the region are presented in capital letters. The dialects of Kanuri and Kanembu are presented in small letters, each shown in the approximate geographical area in which it is spoken. The dialects indicated represent only the major Kanuri and Kanembu dialects, and are designed to give the reader an approximation of the geographical distribution, especially of the Kanuri-speaking peoples. Maiduguri (Yerwa) is underlined.


KANURI
NIGER
Jetko
Dagəra
KANURI
Manga
KANEMBU
Kogono
CHAD
KANEMBU
Kuwuri
BUDUMA
Kayidi
Suwurti
Kuwuri
Manga
Mawur
SHUWA
KANURI
Koyam
Bodoi
Maiduguri
Yerwa
SHUWA
NIGERIA
CAMEROON

Presently-available linguistic evidence from the various dialects is not sufficient to justify proposing groupings of the various dialects. It appears that the Kanuri dialects of northern Nigeria and eastern Niger represent a cohesive, larger dialect grouping, and that the Kanembu dialects of the western shores of Lake Chad represent a separate dialect grouping, distinct from the Kanembu dialects of the area north and east of Lake Chad.

CHAPTER 2: TYPOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF KANURI GRAMMAR

1. Introduction. Grammarians may classify a language according to the typological characteristics of its grammar or syntax. In general this involves a description of the way the language groups, orders, and hierarchically arranges syntactic elements. In English, the verb normally occurs medially between its subject and its object, as in for example *Ali saw you*. Thus language typologists refer to English as a SUBJECT-VERB-OBJECT or SVO language. For speakers of languages that are typologically similar to English, the most striking feature of Kanuri syntax is that the verb is always final in the sentence, preceded by its subject and its object. Thus the same sentence would be expressed in Kanuri as: *Ali you saw* Álì nyíà súrúnà. Typologically therefore, Kanuri is referred to as a SUBJECT-OBJECT-VERB or SOV language.

The Kanuri language quite strictly maintains its basic and canonical SOV arrangement throughout its grammar, the only permissible variant in most environments being OSV, as in: *me hunger it seized* Wúà kənâyè cítà, better translated into English as *I was stricken by hunger*. All nominal (major) and oblique (adverbial) constituents obligatorily precede the sentence-final verb. Major constituents include all subject and direct object noun phrases, which are direct participants in the action of the verb. Oblique constituents include all constituents that do not participate directly in the action of the verb, and thus all adverbial modifiers of the verb, indirect objects, etc. are included in this category.

Ali market+in I saw = I saw Ali in the market. Álì kàsúwù+làn cúrúkò.

him+to money I gave = I gave him money. Shí+rò kúngənà yíkənà.

A la Greenberg (1963:79-80), Kanuri falls into the "rigid" subtype of SOV languages since it is in agreement with his universal which states: "If in a language with dominant SOV order, there is no alternative order, or only OSV as the alternative, then all adverbial modifiers of the verb likewise precede the verb."

For the speaker of English, the verb-final arrangement of a language may appear particularly problemmatical. This typological feature and those that are related to it as described in this chapter, seem to violate all of the grammatical instincts and intuitions of the English speaker. Many aspects of the language will feel reversed or backwards when the speaker of an SVO language tries to learn an SOV language. It is the purpose of this chapter to prepare the student of Kanuri for some of these problems by describing briefly how Kanuri arranges words into phrases, clauses and sentences, as well as how various kinds of Kanuri words are formed. In each case, the reader is referred to the relevant section of the book where the various aspects of a given typological feature are pursued in detail. This chapter will also introduce certain of the basic grammatical paradigms of the language to show the morphemes indicative of person and number which are recurrent in the language.

2. The Postpositions. In his fourth language universal, Greenberg (1963:79) states that "with overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, languages with normal SOV order are postpositional". In agreement with this, Kanuri has a full set of postpositions which have been referred to in some treatments of Kanuri grammar as case markers or case suffixes (Lukas, 1937:17). A postposition is a monomorphemic word or particle that is placed after a noun or pronoun, to mark it as an oblique constituent indicating place, direction, source, method, means, etc., which, from that position after its head word, performs all of the functions that we know to be those of

the preposition in a language like English. The Kanuri postpositions, and other suffixes, because they assimilate phonologically to their preceding head word, are written as part of the word they modify according to the Standard Kanuri Orthography (SKO).

agent postposition:	*Musa+by*	Músà+yè
associative postposition:	*money+with/having*	kúngə́nà+à
indirect postposition:	*Musa+to/for*	Músà+rò
locative/means postposition:	*market+at* *knife+with*	kàsúwù+làn jánà+làn
genitive postposition:	*Musa+of/'s*	Músà+bè
directional 'via' postposition:	*market+via*	kàsúwù+mbèn

The above set of postpositions is used to mark all oblique (adverbial) modifiers of the language. Kanuri has no prepositions of its own. Those that do occur in the language have entered it through other language sources. As will be observed, these borrowed prepositions are used almost redundantly to emphasize an adpositional meaning which has already been indicated by one of the Kanuri postpositions (see ch. 34). As will be observed subsequently, the postpositions are not the only syntactic elements which are preceded by their head word.

The Kanuri postpositions also functions as the markers of embedded sentences in the language. Thus they function as the subordinating conjunctions or subordinators, and as the complementizers of the language. This represents simply an extension of their role as postpositions occurring after a simple noun phrase, and consistent with that role, they again follow their governing constituent. As subordinators and complementizers the postpositions are preceded by sentences or clauses instead of nouns and pronouns. As is apparent in the following examples, and consistent with the SOV typology of the language, all subordinate clauses and complement sentences normally precede their main predicate or matrix clause. The only subordinating conjunctions that occur construction-initially are those that have been borrowed.

When he comes back greet him.	Íshí+à shí+à lèfàné. ASSOCIATIVE
He is trying to go to Mecca.	Mákkà+rò lètə́+rò májìn. INDIRECT

3. The Typological Structure of the Noun Phrase. Just as the Kanuri postpositions follow their governing constituent, likewise all of the modifiers of a governing head noun follow it, without exception (see ch. 20). Thus *big house* is expressed as *house big* fátò kúrà in Kanuri, and *Musa's house* as *house Musa+of/'s* fátò Músà+bè. This HEAD-MODIFIER order within the noun phrase is considered by Greenberg and other language typologists as being typologically aberrant for a strict SOV language like Kanuri. In his universal 2, Greenberg (1963:78) states that: "In languages with prepositions, the genitive almost always follows the governing noun, while in languages with postpositions it almost always precedes". The aberrant typological character of the Kanuri noun phrase is captured in his universal 5, in which he states (1963:79): "If a language has dominant SOV order and the genitive follows the governing noun, then the adjective likewise follows the noun". Kanuri is thus consistent with the subgroup of rigid SOV language described by this typological universal 5, as expressed by Greenberg. In Kanuri, all of the following modifier categories follow their head noun:

adjectives:	*house big*	fátə̀ kúrà
genitives:	*house Musa+of/'s*	fátə̀ Músà+bè
other postpositional phrases:	*person market+in*	kâm kàsúwù+làn
determiners:	*person this*	kâm ádə̀
quantifiers:	*person one*	kâm fál
possessive pronoun suffixes:	*money+my*	kúngə́nà+nyí
noun adjuncts:	*Ali too*	Álì yé
relative clauses:	*person he went+the*	kâm lèzə́nà+də́

When more than one of the above modifier categories occurs in a Kanuri noun phrase, the hierarchical order in which they occur after the head noun is predicted by Greenberg's universal 20 (1963:87) in which he states: "When any or all of the items (demonstrative, numeral, and descriptive adjective) precede the noun, they are always found in that order. If they follow, the order is either the same or its exact opposite". In Kanuri the order is the exact opposite, thus the head noun is followed by the adjective, numeral, and demonstrative, in that order.

horse big two these = these two big horses fə̂r kúrà ìndí ányì

4. The Typology of the Finite Verb Form. The finite verb form of Kanuri is synthetic or agglutinative. By this is meant that the verb form carries all of the required inflectional morphemes like person, number, tense/aspect, and as well, the optional derivational morphemes like causation, negation, and reflexivization. Thus the following synthetic verb form is sentential.

I will not sell (it) to you. Nzə̀kkə̀làdə́kìnbâ.

From the translation of the above example, it is clear that the verb carries a verb root, plus inflectional morphemes indicating a 1S subject, imperfect aspect interpreted as future. It also carries the derivational morphemes 2S indirect object, applied derivation morpheme, and negation. Thus in neutral unmarked environments where pronouns are in no way emphasized or questioned, they are carried only in the verb form and not manifested independently. Every finite verb form must carry its subject pronoun, fully specified for person and number.

In discussing the typology of finite verb forms Greenberg (1963:93) refers to the order of the three relevant morpheme categories root, inflectional, and derivational. His universal 16 (1963:85) predicts that "in languages with dominant order SOV, an inflected auxiliary always follows the main verb". Another language typologist Lehmann (1973:48) proposed a "structural principle of language", stating that "modifiers are placed on the opposite side of a basic syntactic element from its primary concomitant". Kuno (1974:117) relates this principle to the finite verb form in the following way: "... verbal modifiers for negation, causation, or reflexive or reciprocal action are placed after verb roots in OV languages ...". Typologists would therefore predict for a rigid SOV language like Kanuri that the verb root would precede all inflectional and derivational morphemes. For the most part, the inflectional morphemes of Kanuri agree with their prediction, though the modifier and derivational morphemes do not all agree. In the following schema which breaks down the earlier example, *DER* indicates a derivational morpheme, and *INFL* indicates an inflectional morpheme.

nzə̀	+kkə̀	+làd	+k	+ìn	+bâ	›	nzə̀kkə̀làdə́kìnbâ.
DER	*DER*	*ROOT*	*INFL*	*INFL*	*DER*		
2S	*applied*	*sell*	*1S*	*imperfect*	*negative*		

As suggested by this example, it can generally be stated that the derivational morphemes precede the verb root in Kanuri, and the inflectional morphemes follow the verb root. In exception to this is the negative morpheme which always follows the inflectional morphemes indicating the subject pronoun. A further exception occurs in the formation of the past and future tense/aspects of the verb, where these inflectional morphemes are discontinuous being partly prefixed and partly suffixed (see pp. 117 and 122).

5. The Structure of the Kanuri Lexicon. The Kanuri lexicon might be described as a *layered* lexicon. It is layered chronologically in the sense that it is possible to recognize words in the language that are older as distinct from words that have not been in the language as long and also others that have entered the language from other language sources. Borrowed words in the lexicon as well are layered chronologically, since certain Arabic loan words have been part of the language for as much as a thousand years, whereas words from Hausa entered much later, and words from English only very recently. The Kanuri lexicon is also layered morphologically, in the sense that a relatively small set of basic lexical roots appear throughout the lexicon in a variety of derived forms corresponding to a variety of the lexical categories with which we are familiar in other languages.

With regard to the noun, Lukas (1937:9) stated: "The noun in Kanuri is, in most cases, composed of the root surrounded by affixes. ... Only in a very few instances can the formative affix be separated from the root; it is possible to recognize the root only by comparison with other dialects or with related languages." Thus there are many historically derived words in the lexicon which are made up of formative affixes which are no longer productive in the language (see ch. 10). These are distinct from words which are derived through synchronically productive morphological processes (see ch. 8). Still other words are derived through the process of tone change and phonological reduplication (see ch. 9).

With regard to lexical categories or parts of speech, the lines distinguishing the traditional categories noun, adjective and adverb are not clearly drawn. There are no overt morphological or syntactic characteristics which distinguish the lexical noun from similar words which have adjectival and adverbial meanings (see ch. 6). According to the analysis presented in this grammar, the lexical category *noun* is the only one of these three categories which truly exists in Kanuri. The majority of the 'adverbs' of Kanuri are in fact postpositional phrases, composed of a noun marked by one of the oblique postpositions.

Another very significant lexical category in Kanuri is that of the specific adverb or ideophone. Specific adverbs are words which may be onomatopoetic like the English word *boom* which is often used as a specific adverb to describe the verb *fall down*. There are literally hundreds of specific adverbs in Kanuri, used to describe verbs and adjectives specifically. They often function to qualify or to intensify these other lexical items. As a lexical category, specific adverbs are clearly distinguished in Kanuri by unique phonological features which do not occur in any other lexical category.

6. Simple Sentences of Identification. Predicates of identification and as well certain predicates of existence, are characterized by nonverbal stative constructions. Such predicates are formed through the simple juxtaposition of constituents since there is no overt verb *to be* in Kanuri. Such sentences clearly bear no inherent tense or aspect since they are

nonverbal. When two nominals are juxtaposed, such sentences are equational. Descriptive sentences may be formed through the juxtaposition of a nominal and an adjectival, or a nominal and a postpositional phrase, as elaborated in section V, chs. 16-18.

Ali farmer = Ali is a farmer.	Álì bàrèmá.
horse+his big = His horse is big.	Fə̄r+nzə́ kúrà.
Ali market+in = Ali is in the market.	Álì kàsúwù+làn.

7. Person and Number in the Basic Grammatical Paradigms. Kanuri does not have grammatical gender. The pronouns of the language overtly distinguish person and number, but not gender. Thus all pronouns, including the subject pronoun morphemes carried in the finite verb form, may refer either to a male or a female referent, both in the singular and in the plural. All of the grammatical paradigms of the language therefore in which person and number are explicitly designated, have six different forms and thereby distinguish three persons in the singular and the plural.

One of the lexical formatives referred to in section 5 above which is crucial to Kanuri word formation (see p. 81) is the phoneme n. Its role as lexical formative is matched by its role in the formation of certain of the basic grammatical paradigms of the language. This phoneme (/morpheme), or its homophone, clearly functions as a formative in the structure of the suffixed forms of the possessive pronouns.

1S	+n+ +í	›	+nyí	*my*	*1P*	+n+d+ý	›	+ndé	*our*
2S	+n+m	›	+nə́m	*your*	*2P*	+n+d+ẃ	›	+ndó	*your*
3S	+n+s+´	›	+nzə́	*his/her/its*	*3P*	+n+ +s+á	›	+nzá	*their*

For the derivation of the independent possessive pronouns from the suffixed forms see page 76.

The subject pronoun morphemes carried by the finite verb form are as follows:

1S	+sk+/+kk+/+k+	*I*	*1P*	+y+	*we*
2S	+m+	*you*	*2P*	+w+	*you*
3S	s+	*he/she/it*	*3P*	s+a+	*they*

The most commonly used verb of the language is a verb of the older verb class 1 whose root is n. There can be little doubt that it is the most used since it occurs not only independently but also as the inflection to conjugate most of the verbs of the language (see p. 101).The verb n means *say, think*. Since the derivational morphology is equipped both diachronically and synchronically with processes which allow for change in lexical category, it is possible to speculate that the formative n and the verb root n were originally the same morpheme, and that the forms of the verb n with their subject morphemes have played some role in the evolution of the possessive pronoun paradigm. Compare the verb emphasis completive aspect (p. 125) and conjunctive forms of the verb n with the suffixed forms of the possessive pronouns.

	VEC	*CONJ*	*POS*	*SUBJECT*
1S	ngí	ngè	+nyí	+sk+/+kk+/+k+
2S	nə́mí	nə̀m	+nə́m	+m+
3S	shí	sə̀	+nzə́	s+
1P	nyéi	nyè	+ndé	+y+
2P	núwí	nə̀ù	+ndó	+w+
3P	sái	sà	+nzá	s+a+

It is apparent that in the *POS* paradigm, *1P* and *2P* forms share the formative +d+ as an apparent formative of the plural. Whereas in the *3P* form the vowel +a+ seems to be the plural formative. Other evidence would document the hypothesis that both the morpheme +a+ and the morpheme +d+ function as plural formatives in Kanuri. In the personal pronoun paradigm, as indicated below, these two morphemes occur consistently to distinguish the plural from the singular pronouns. It is interesting to observe in the adjacent paradigm of the possessive pronoun affixes of one dialect of Kanembu, that the plural morpheme +d+ does occur consistently throughout the plural paradigm as plural formative.

	PRO		*KANEMBU POS*	
1S	wú	*I*	+ní	*my*
2S	nyí	*you*	+núm	*your*
3S	shí	*he/she/it*	+ngú	*his/her/its*
1P	àndí	*we*	+ndé	*our*
2P	nàndí	*you*	+ndó	*your*
3P	sàndí	*they*	+ngédé	*their*

The morphemes involved in the formation of the number *two* ìndí are probably related to those involved in the formation of the plural forms of the pronouns.

In the paradigms for the past and the future forms of the verb n, the formatives +a+ and +d+ again appear apparently to indicate the plural of the *3P* form alone. The following paradigms show these forms of the verb n as they are used to inflect the class 2 verb bák+ *beat, hit*.

	PST	*FUT*
1S	bák+kòkò	bák+còkò
2S	bák+kàm	bák+càm
3S	bák+kònò	bák+cònò
1P	bák+kàiyè	bák+càiyè
2P	bák+kàu	bák+càu
3P	bák+kàdà	bák+càdà

A comparable formative +n+ appears in the above paradigms as well as in the negative future paradigm (see p. 119) for the 3S form, but not elsewhere in the language as a 3S formative.

The plural morpheme +d+ surfaces again for as yet unexplained reasons in the 1P form of the negative completive for all verbs. In some dialects speakers produce a comparable form in the 2P negative completive. In both cases the seemingly aberrant forms resemble the comparable suffixed possessive pronoun forms, as shown below for the verb bù+ *eat*.

1S	búkə̀nyí	*1P*	búiyèndé
2S	bûmí	*2P*	bûwí/búyòndó
3S	zə́wùnyí	*3P*	záwùnyí

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CHAPTER 3: THE SYLLABLE, THE WORD AND THE SOUND SYSTEM

1. Introduction. Linguists divide the study of the phonology or sound system into: 1) what is referred to as *segmental phonology* dealing with the phonemes of the language in isolation and as they occur together in the syllable and the word, as distinct from 2) what is referred to as *suprasegmental phonology*, which treats the prosodic elements of the language, analyzing features which are judged external to the actual phonemes making up the word, e.g. tone/pitch, accent, stress, intonation, etc. (see ch. 4).It is the purpose of the present chapter to introduce the segmental phonology of Kanuri, hopefully in a way that will be useful to any student of the language, and that will facilitate the language learning experience.

The chapter begins with some generalizations about the characteristic phonological structure of the syllable and the word, and then proceeds to present a complete inventory of the (segmental) phonemes of the language. The possible sequences of sounds prescribed by the phonology of the language are described. The allophonic variants of the basic phonemes of the language are presented, with descriptions of the pronunciation of the sounds as they are phonetically realized in various phonological environments.

2. The Phonological Structure of the Syllable and the Word. With regard to the synchronic phonology, the only permissible consonant/vowel sequences in the Kanuri syllable are: CV and CVC. Syllables consisting of a single vowel alone do occur, but only in initial position as the result of borrowing from other language sources. Scholars who have dealt with the phonological structure of the Kanuri syllable generally agree that synchronic Yerwa Kanuri does not possess surface long vowels (cf e.g. Jarrett, 1977: 59-65). However in Kanuri as it is written today according to the SKO, it will be noticed that there are some words of the language written with the syllable structure CVV. Such words are originally bisyllabic sequences and not instances of vowel length. They result from the historical weakening or intervocalic lenition of consonants over time and are written as sequences of identical vowels so that the orthography might better reflect the actual pronunciation of the language (see p. 19).

The phonological structure of the Kanuri syllable may be predictable on the basis of the position in which it occurs within the Kanuri word, and as well on the basis of the category of the word in which it occurs. The same is true of the suprasegmental feature, tone. For example, if specific adverbs are excluded, then every word in the lexicon ends either with a vowel-final CV syllable, or with a sonorant consonant-final CVC syllable. The sonorant consonants include the liquid consonants l, r, and the nasal consonants m, n. Thus for all lexical categories except for that of the specific adverb (ideophone), the only word-final consonants that may occur are the sonorant consonants. The specific adverbs, on the other hand, are characteristically monosyllabic, and rarely more than two syllables in length, unless some form of phonological reduplication is involved. Unlike other lexical categories, specific adverbs are not strictly limited with regard to phonological structure. They may be of the structure CV, CVC, and as well CVV. Bisyllabic specific adverbs are normally of the syllable structure CVCVC, and in many cases can be shown to be derived from CVC counterparts. The final consonants of the specific adverbs are not limited to the sonorant consonants, since any of the consonant phonemes of Kanuri and any of their allophones may occur as the final consonant. The same is true of the initial consonant position where even the allophone p of b occurs, whereas it is not normally manifested in initial-position in other lexical categories.

If one were to isolate all of the non-derived monomorphemic words that are basic to the lexicon (i.e. excluding words containing a lexical formative, words that have undergone a tone-changing morphological process, words that represent a compounding of two lexical items), the remaining lexical core would very likely be made up of only monosyllabic and bisyllabic words. It seems that the optimal syllable structure for the Kanuri word is bisyllabic, since many of the monosyllabic words of the language carry contour tones (rising and falling) which represent the historical combination or collapsation of an original bisyllabic. Some members of this proposed lexical core are shown in the following lists.

bê	*hot season*	bálǒ	*scar*
bî	*male animal*	bánǒ	*hoe*
bû	*blood*	bàrà	*hunting*
câ	*formerly*	bə́lì	*excrement*
cî	*mouth*	búné	*night*
dâ	*meat*	césà	*sand*
fə̂r	*horse*	dágə̀l	*monkey*
kâ	*stick, cane*	dàló	*bull*
kû	*today*	fátǒ	*house*
nâ	*place*	fúwù	*front*
râk	*medium-sized, just right*	gégè	*whiskers*
shî	*foot, leg*	lə̀rə́m	*denseness*
yâ	*mother*	mándá	*salt*
zâ	*arm's length measurement*	mòwá	*deaf and dumb*
zâr	*root*	nágə̀	*nut of desert date fruit*
zâu	*difficult*	sə́rə̀n	*pain*

The only consonant clusters which occur within a given syllable in Kanuri are the word-initial prenasalized clusters mb, nd, and ng [ŋg]. The initial homorganic nasal is very often pronounced as a syllabic nasal. In medial position, a sequence of two obstruents or a nasal consonant and an obstruent are always syllabified after the first consonant. Thus it is apparent that Kanuri does not have consonant clusters as we know them in other languages, and that the nasal plus obstruent clusters which occur only in word-initial position are instances simply of prenasalization.

We have already established a significant body of phonological constraints on the structure of the syllable and the word in Kanuri. As soon as one turns to examine trisyllabic words in Kanuri, one begins to see signs of characteristic derived tone patterns, phonological reduplication, and the occurrence of both productive and no longer productive lexical formative affixes. Borrowing is also a factor in words of more than two syllables in length. When a word of any number of syllables comes into the language, if it violates any of the above-described constraints on syllable structure and word formation, then the phonology of the language will alter it accordingly. The consonant clusters of English borrowings for example are broken up, when Kanuricized, by the addition of epenthetic vowels, as in fə̀rémàrè *primary*, and fə̀rə́sə̀nà *prisoner*, etc. It is apparent that the unallowable word-initial *p* of these words has been accordingly altered to f. Borrowings that come into the language with a word-final obstruent violate the above constraint that basic lexical items when consonant-final, must end in a sonorant consonant. Here again, vowel epenthesis may occur so that such words will be vowel-final rather than obstruent-final. Such a final, epenthetic vowel is normally low tone, and in such cases all non-coronal consonants will undergo weakening or consonant lenition in the resultant intervocalic environment. The Kanuri word for *market*, for example, is trisyllabic though it was originally borrowed from the monosyllabic Arabic stem *suq*, and it has undergone a number of Kanuri phonological and morphological processes. The Arabic stem has undergone k+ prefixation and final vowel epenthesis, as well as tone application to yield the Kanuri word kàsúwù ‹*kà+súk+ù. It is apparent that the underlying obstruent k has been weakened to the semi-vowel w in the resulting intervocalic environment.

3. The Inventory of Consonant Phonemes. The underlying segmental consonant phonemes of Yerwa Kanuri are presented in the following schema, arranged according to consonant type and point of articulation. The allophonic variants of the basic phonemes are presented in parentheses. Both the phonemes and their allophones are presented here as they are written according to the SKO. Where this representation does not adequately capture a given sound, the phonetic realization is represented in brackets adjacent to the phoneme or its allophone.

	bilabial	*labial-dental*	*alveolar*	*palatal*	*velar*	*laryngeal/ glottal*
plosives	(p)		t		k	[ʔ]
	b		d		g	
prenasalized	mb		nd		ng[ŋg]	
affricates				c[č]		
				j[ǰ]		
fricatives	(f)[ɸ]	f	s	sh[š]	(g)[γ]	h
	(w)[β]		z			
nasals	m		n	(ny)[ɲ]	(ng)[ŋ]	
liquids			r[ɾ]			
			l	(l)[ɫ]		
semi-vowels	w			y		

3.1. The Bilabial Consonants. Although the consonant p is not normally considered as a phoneme of the language it is nevertheless included as a letter of Kanuri in the SKO. It occurs as an allophone of b when b is followed by a voiceless plosive. Therefore though b is the underlying root-final consonant for the class 2 verb náb+ *sit down*, it is never written as such since it never occurs in the language followed by a voiced plosive. Therefore the verbal noun is náptə́ ‹*náb+tə́, and the 3S imperfect form is nápcìn ‹*náb+shìn.

The consonant p may also occur phonetically as an allophone of f, though this variation is not reflected in the SKO, except in the case of certain of the specific adverbs. The f:p alternation may vary freely when in word-initial position, and different speakers apply it in different ways. The choice of the allophonic variant may correlate with semantic emphasis or intensification since it is very commonly selected over the phoneme for f-initial specific adverbs such as fók/pók, fít/pít, fíu/píu, etc.

The voiceless bilabial fricative occurs as an allophone of f, and in apparent free variation with f, on all open vowel-final syllables which begin with f. This occurs most predictably in syllables characterized by non-central vowels.

The voiced bilabial fricative is a common allophone of b when b occurs in intervocalic environments. This allophonic variation is reflected in the SKO by writing the weakened b as w. In similar environments, an underlying f is weakened to a voiced or voiceless bilabial fricative. This weakening also occurs when underlying f occurs between a liquid consonant and a vowel. This is again reflected in the SKO by writing w. The following examples demonstrate the weakening and are written according to the SKO, for the bilabial consonants in the environments mentioned.

zə́wìn	*s/he eats*	<*s+bù+ìn
zə̀wâi	*s/he mounts*	<*s+bâ+ì
sə̀wə̀rtîn	*s/he plucks*	<*s+fə̀rt+ìn
ngə́wə̀l	*egg*	<*ngə́bə̀l
kàwúdì	*perfume*	<*kà+bút+V
kə̀léwà	*well, healthy*	< kə̀+léfà
rúwò	*writing*	<*rúbò
də́lfù/də́lwù	*way, method*	< də́lfù
ngə́wù	*alot, many*	<*ngə́bù
kə́rwí	*leather bucket*	<*kə́rfí
káwé	*advice*	<*ká+bé
bárwù	*thief*	<*bárfù
kìtáwù	*book*	<*kìtábù
ngə́nə́wù	*trouble, suffering*	<*ngə́nə́p+V

The fricativization of an initial p is shown in the following examples of borrowed words.

fâm	*pound sterling*
fə̀râmóshə̀n	*promotion*
fə̀rémárè	*primary*
fə̀rə́sə́nà	*prisoner*
fómfòm	*pump*

3.2. The Palatal and Palatalized Consonants. The palatal consonants of Yerwa Kanuri represent perhaps the weakest and most phonologically tenuous series of consonants in the language. Those that are classified as phonemes of the language occur not only phonemically, but also allophonically as allophones of what might be referred to as the more basic consonant phonemes. For example the status of the phoneme ʃ, written according to the SKO as the digraph sh, might be questioned since in many of its word-initial occurrences it occurs in borrowed words, and in other words in the same environment it precedes the high front vowel i, and thus is very likely an allophone of s. The Yerwa dialect is perhaps unique in this respect since there is a strong tendency to palatalize all consonants in the environment of a high front vowel. For example, the consonant clusters *ki, *si, *ni, and others rarely if ever occur in the language. Words that do begin with initial ki+ like kìmê *red*, always have an alternative palatalized form beginning with the palatal consonant c, and thus both pronunciations kìmê and cìmê, are acceptable. As indicated in the above consonant schema, the palatal nasal consonant ɲ, written according to the SKO as the digraph ny, is not a phoneme of the language since its occurrence is always conditioned by the occurrence of a following high front vowel.

Similarly, the occurrence of the retroflex liquid consonant ɨ (included in the consonant schema as a palatal consonant), is always predictable, again on the basis of the high front vowel environment. Again the Yerwa dialect is unique in this respect since the retroflex consonant does not occur in other dialects, either phonemically or allophonically. The only words in which this consonant does occur in non-high front vowel environments are instances of borrowing, and in such cases are recorded as an r according to the SKO. Because the occurrence of ɨ in high front vowel environments is so predictable, and in order to avoid the addition of a new orthographical symbol, the SKO does not differentiate the regular l in non-high front vowel environments from the retroflex form which occurs when l is followed by a high front vowel. Both are always written as l. The pronunciation of this consonant involves the turning back of the tongue slightly to a retroflexed position and the subsequent moving of the end of the turned back tongue forward and downward so that the under side flaps against the palatal area just behind the alveolar ridge.

3.3. The Velar Consonants. The velar obstruent phonemes k and g have perhaps more phonetic realizations in the spoken language than any other consonant series. Like the bilabial series, the velar obstruents are subject to weakening whenever they occur in intervocalic environments, or in the environment of a liquid consonant. Their allophones are always conditioned by the quality of the vowels adjacent to them, and for the most part, the allophones are reflected in the spelling conventions of the SKO.

As Lukas (1937:2) states, the velar g is a voiced velar plosive, fully pronounced as such when it occurs initially, or when preceded by a nasal n. In all other occurrences its pronunciation is predictable on the basis of phonological environment. Wherever in present-day Yerwa Kanuri an underlying g is pronounced with any trace of a velar constriction, then the g is retained in the SKO. For many speakers, this occurs when the g occurs after a liquid consonant and before a central vowel. The pronunciation of such words however varies greatly from speaker to speaker. When a front vowel follows the underlying g the velar constriction is much less noticeable, but nevertheless, the g has been retained in the SKO. When the underlying g is not pronounced with noticeable velar constriction, one may have the impression either that the preceding liquid consonant is being doubled or that the following vowel has been essentially lengthened. Thus many of the following examples will be observed as pronounced in three different ways. Lukas correctly adds that "in careful speech the g may be pronounced throughout and when malams write Kanuri in Arabic script they write the letter g." (1937:2)

wálgàtà	*they returned*	bə́lgə̀	*speech defect*
fàlgátà	*changed*	ngárgə̀	*goat etc. dung*
bárgà	*blessing*	fə̀rgí	*black soil*
gə́rgá+	*be angry*	kàlgî	*thorn*
sálgà	*chain*	fárgì	*vagina*
fàrgà	*interval*	kárgí	*fart*
dàrgé	*last*	fə́rgámì/fə́rámì	*fingernail, claw*
kə́rgè	*state, region*	wárgàtà	*burned*
bílgə̀	*foam*	tárgàtà	*they dispersed*
ngə́rgə̀	*leather sack*	nzə̀rgà	*increase*
kə̀rgə́n	*brain*		

When an underlying g is followed by a back vowel in these liquid consonant environments then it is written as a w according to the SKO and is normally pronounced as such.

kùrwûn	*medicine*	búrwù	*complaint, cry for help*
kùrwówù	*heavy*	kùrwúlì	*lion*
búrwò	*cunningness*	kúlwú	*gown, robe*
kùlwûn	*black sticky mud*	kúrwùm	*turmeric*

When underlying g occurs intervocalically, it is retained in the orthography only in those environments where it has been judged that most speakers make some kind of velar constriction, usually a velar fricative, in pronunciation. This occurs when either the preceding, the following, or both of the vowels surrounding the g are the high central vowel which is written according to the SKO as shwa ə, as shown in the following examples.

kàrə́gə̀	*heart*	kə̀mə́gə́	*heat, humidity*
kə̀mə́məgə̀	*stammering*	bə̀ndə́gə̀/bùndúwù	*gun*
cágə̀	*sinew, gristle*	cígə̀	*chewing stick*
də̀gà	*living*	mànàgə́kìn	*I speak to (him)*
kə̀ntágə̀	*month, moon*	kə̀ndágə̀	*oil*
kə̀ndə́gà	*life*	dègə́	*four*
də̀lágə̀	*rain, rain clouds*	kə̀rígə̀	*war*
kə̀mágə̀n	*honey*	mágə̀/máwù	*week*
kǎigə̀	*fear, cowardice*	kágə́l	*anvil*

When underlying g occurs between identical back vowels, then it is written as a w according to the SKO and may be pronounced as such. These allophones of g are not always clearly articulated, and the weakening may go so far as to sound as though nothing occurs between the two identical back vowels, as if they were long vowels, as in the following examples.

kàsúwù	*market*	kùrúwù	*long*
úwù	*five*	fyúwù	*fifty*
kâfúwù	*short*	kùlúwù	*lake, pond*
kàdúwù	*descendant*	fówò	*clouds*
búwúr	*wooden bowl*	mòwònjîn	*it is possible*
mòwò	*taking*	fúwù	*front*

When underlying g occurs between identical vowels a or i, then the consonant weakening is shown with no orthographical symbol occurring between the identical vowels according to the SKO, as in the following examples.

láá	*some, a certain one*	kàálà	*advice, counsel*
dàátà	*standing*	fáàtà	*awake*
líítà	*doctor*	kàlìímò	*camel*
lííjì	*trouble*		

The voiced velar fricative is an allophone of both of the velar plosives g and k, as is shown in the following 3S imperfect verb forms for certain class 1 verbs. As is also apparent in the following examples, w is also an allophone of g/k. Whether the velar or the bilabial allophone occurs is clearly determined by the quality of the vowel of the verb root.

zə̀gâi	*s/he follows*	<*s+gá+ì
zə̀gámbìn	*s/he scratches*	<*s+gámb+ìn
sə̀gàrîn	*s/he forges, carves*	<*s+kàr+ìn
súwórìn	*s/he asks*	<*s+kór+ìn

As represented in the earlier schema of the consonant phonemes, the velar nasal consonant is not one of the phonemes of the language. It does occur as an allophone of n when it precedes either of the velar plosives. Its occurrence is thus always conditioned in some way by a following velar plosive. The only environment in which it does occur alone, without a following velar plosive being phonetically realized at the surface, is in fact conditioned by an underlying adjacent velar plosive k. This occurs in the 1S form of the class 1 verb ngìn [ŋìn] in certain verb aspects, and thus in the 1S forms of all class 2 verbs which are inflected by ngìn. There the velar nasal consonant results across a morpheme boundary, where the root consonant n and the 1S subject pronoun morpheme +k+ meet. When this derived velar nasal occurs intervocalically it may be further weakened to the point that all that remains is nasalization of the vowels on either side of it. This weakening is not reflected in the SKO. The velar nasal is always written according to the SKO as ng. Thus the class 2 root má+ *look for*, is inflected by ngìn in the 1S imperfect form, as follows: *má+n+k+ìn ›mângìn [mâŋìn] which for most speakers is phonetically realized as [mãìn]. A sequence of two velar nasals is written, according to a convention of the SKO, as +ngg+. This combination occurs across morpheme boundaries in the 1S imperfect form of class 2 verbs whose roots end in k, as in bák+ *beat, hit* *bák+ngìn ›bânggìn [bâŋŋìn].

3.3.1. Alveolar Consonant Assimilation to a Following Velar Plosive. Certain of the alveolar consonants seem to assimilate readily to a following velar plosive k, so that the following words are today heard pronounced in both of the ways indicated.

búskìn/búkkìn/búkìn	*I eat*
yàskə́/yàkkə́	*three*
àràskə́/àràkkə́	*six*
bískà/bikkɛ̀/bíkà	*yesterday*
múskò/múkkò	*hand, arm*
kútə́kìn/kúdə̀kìn/kûkkìn	*I bring*
yátə̀kìn/yádə̀kìn/yâkkìn	*I carry*

3.4. Consonant Assimilation Involving the Nasal Consonant n. The plosives of each series may assimilate to a following nasal. This is especially apparent in the morphological inflection of class 2 verbs by the class 1 verb ngìn. This is shown clearly in the first and second person forms in the imperfect aspect in the following paradigms.

root/1S/2S/1P/2P	*meaning*
náb+/nâmngìn/námnə̀mìn/námnyèn/námnùwì	*sit down*
sáb+/sâmngìn/sámnə̀mìn/sámnyèn/sámnùwì	*gather*
lét+/lə̂nngìn/lénnə̀mìn/lénnyèn/lénnùwì	*sleep*
nzə̂t+/nzə̂nngìn/nzə́nnə̀mìn/nzə́nnyèn/nzə́nnùwì	*squeeze, wring out*
bák+/bânggìn/bángnə̀mìn/bángnyèn/bángnùwì	*beat, hit*
kòk+/kȍnggîn/kòngnə́mìn/kòngnyên/kòngnúwì	*peck at*

3.4.1. Progressive Nasal Assimilation. A nasal consonant may assimilate to a preceding liquid consonant l in certain contexts. This occurs consistently in the 2S and 2P forms of class 2 verbs in e.g. the imperfect aspect, for class 2 roots ending in l.

fàl+/fàllə́mìn/fàllúwì	*change*
wál+/wállə̀mìn/wállùwì	*become*

This progressive assimilation of a nasal consonant to a preceding liquid consonant does not occur when the liquid consonant is an r, as is the case in other dialects of Kanuri and Kanembu.

4. The Vowels. The phonemic vowel segments are presented in the following schema.

	front	*central*	*back*
high	i		u
		ə[ɨ]	
mid	e		o
low		*SKO* a = ʌ *Lukas'* a a *Lukas'* ɑ	

As indicated in the above schema, the two different vowel phonemes ʌ and a, which were distinguished in Lukas' (1937) orthography by a and ɑ, are not differentiated in the SKO, since both are written wherever they occur as a. Jarrett (1978) has argued very strongly for the inclusion of the vowel ʌ in the vowel system of synchronic Yerwa Kanuri. On the basis of historical evidence, he argues that the core of the Kanuri vowel system once consisted of two series of five vowels, one long and one short, and that today those two series of five vowels have been reduced to one series of seven vowels, the two 'new' vowels being ə and ʌ, with the result that vowel length has been lost as a surface contrast (Jarrett, 1978:45).

CHAPTER 4: THE ROLE OF TONE

1. Introduction. Kanuri is a tone language. Tone is of great importance in Kanuri, both lexically and grammatically. It has been proposed (Voorhoeve, 1973; Hyman and Schuh, 1974) that tone languages may be either "restricted" or "nonrestricted". "A 'nonrestricted' tone language is one where tones are assigned to individual syllables on a relatively free basis and without regard to the tone pattern throughout the entire word or morpheme." On the other hand, there are many different types of "restricted" tone languages, e.g. those in which a particular tone pattern must be assigned to a whole morpheme or word, those which restrict the number of high or low tones that can occur within a morpheme or word and its position within the word. It is also possible historically, for a tone language of the nonrestricted type to become a tone language of the restricted type, and perhaps eventually to even become a nontonal language (Hyman and Schuh, 1974: 82-3).

Kanuri might be described as such a language that is undergoing change with regard to the role played by tone. Synchronic Kanuri has certain of the characteristics of a nonrestricted (lexical) tone language, as well as certain characteristics typical of a restricted (tone harmony) language.

The lexicon of the language might be described as historically layered. It is made up of words that entered the language at a great many different time periods in the history of the language. Using tone as a criterion, it is possible to distinguish certain of the layers of the lexicon and to establish subparts in which lexical tone plays an integral role, as opposed to other subparts in which tone pattern and lexical category are closely interrelated.

1.1. Kanuri Tones. All of the tone patterns of Kanuri words are based in a two-tone system, a level high (H) tone, and a level low (L) tone. In both diachronic and synchronic word formation processes, these level syllabic tones may combine over a given syllable to result in combined or contour tones, the combination H-L resulting in a falling (F) tone, the combination L-H resulting in a rising (R) tone. Nearly all of the falling and rising tones of the language can be explained in this way as compound tones. In certain environments, the morphological combination of syllables resulting in the tone pattern H-L-H will result in the raising of the low tone to mid (M), and the lowering of the final high tone to mid, producing H-M-M. The level, contour, and the raised/lowered tones of the language are shown in the following examples:

L: bà *mounting*, ngàwùrè *tail*
H: bú *ashes*, kámú *woman, wife*
H+L=F: bû *blood*, bâ *there is not*, mângìn *I look for*
L+H=R: kǎusù *heat*, kǎinò *odor*, lěngìn *I go*
H+L+H=H+M+M: sáwà *friend*, +nzə̄ *his/her*, sáwānzə̄ *his/her friend*

The marking of tone is not part of the Standard Kanuri Orthography (SKO). In the present work however, for reasons of clarity and pedagogy, the level and contour tones will be everywhere indicated. As in the above examples, a low tone will be indicated by a downward sloping grave accent (ò), a high tone by an upward sloping acute accent (ó), a falling tone by a circumflex accent (ô), a rising tone by the criss-crossed upturned circumflex accent, which is a combination of the low and high tones (ǒ). The mid tone will not be indicated since it is predictable on the basis of the combination of the level tones, as will be indicated below.

To the non-Kanuri speaker it might seem surprising that the SKO does not include tone marking. However it is not the case that misunderstandings and the inability to recognize certain words result from the lack of tone marking. It is virtually impossible to create a written context for which ambiguities would result from a reading by a first language speaker of Kanuri. Problems of ambiguity could only result out of context, for example in looking at certain words which participate in minimal tonal pairs in isolation. The words bà *mounting* and bâ *there is not*, are both written as ba according to the SKO.

Tone markings are included in this work so that the linguist, the learner, and the Kanuri person using it may be aware of the tone patterns of the language. For the language learner, awareness of tone patterns is quite important, but preoccupation with them may be detrimental to the language learning experience. Experience has shown that when a language learner becomes preoccupied with 'reaching' for tones and tone patterns, more language learning problems may be created than are avoided. Because a language is tonal does not mean that it is sung. It means rather that every syllable has a designated pitch, relative to the pitch of the other syllables in a word, compound, or combination of words. It is only through continuous imitation of a first language speaker that one may be able to speak a tone language naturally.

Many of the tone-based processes described in this chapter are not crucial to the beginning student of Kanuri. Certain of the processes are very obscure and rarely used. Some are therefore included only in the quest for completeness, and thus should not be dwelled upon by the learner.

1.2. Tone and the Word. Within the lexicon, the basic non-derived, monomorphemic words characteristically end with a syllable bearing a low tone, or a falling tone, the latter being the compound of the H-L combination. In this basic subpart of the lexicon, the monosyllabic CV/C lexical item will characteristically bear a falling tone, which may represent the historical collapse of two syllables, for example:

bê	*hot season*	ngâ	*healthy*
bî	*male*	ngô	*here, behold*
bû	*blood*	sâr	*loan*
câ	*formerly*	shî	*foot, leg*
dâ	*meat*	yâ	*mother*
fə̂r	*horse*	zâ	*arm's length measurement*
kâ	*stick*	zâr	*root*
kû	*today*	zâu	*difficult*

In the same basic subpart of the lexicon, monomorphemic bisyllabic words characteristically bear the same tone pattern represented by the falling tone pattern on the monosyllabic words, but with the H-L occurring on two syllables instead of one.

dúnò	*strength*	ngánjì	*chest*
fátò	*house*	sáwà	*friend*
férò	*girl*	tímì	*tooth*

Very few of the words that fall into this subpart of the Kanuri lexicon can be shown to be derived, either tonally or morphologically. There are also a great many very basic vocabulary items with the same syllable structures described here but which do not fit the H-L tone pattern, and also cannot be shown to be derived. Thus these observations are not to be taken as general rules, but rather as observations applying to the core members of the Kanuri lexicon.

It appears that the core members of the lexicon are the monosyllabic and bisyllabic words described above. A look at trisyllabic words reveals signs of characteristic tone patterns related to specific morphological processes and lexical categories, signs of reduplication, and of formative affixes. Borrowing is also a factor in words of greater than two syllables, and when trisyllabic, it is very often the L-H-L tone pattern which is applied to them.

2. Minimal Pairs and Triplets. The following pairs and triplets of words represent words of the same segmental phonological structure, distinguished one from the other uniquely by the suprasegmental feature of tone. In a number of cases, the tone of a given member does not reflect its underlying lexical tone, but rather is assigned due to its grammatical category. For example, all of the verbs of class 1 have a non-prefixed form of the verbal noun which, regardless of verb root tone, is always low tone. The root bá+ *mount* is inherently high tone, but as a verbal noun it becomes the low tone bà.

bá/wá	(question marker)	bâ	*there is not*	bà	*mounting*
bú	*ashes*	bû	*blood*	bù	*eating*
dúnó	*thigh*	dúnò	*strength*		
káwú	*twin*	káwù	*cold*	kàwú	*day*
kə́m	*quietly*	kə̂m	*handful*		
kə́nzà	*nose*	kə̀nzâ	*drinking*		
kə́rì	*dog*	kə̀rî	*dune*		
kóló	*small drum*	kólò	*clay pot*		
kőró	*donkey*			kòrò	*asking*
létə́	*touching*			lètə́	*going*
ngə́lí	*year*	ngə́lì	*penis*		
nòtə́	*knowing*	nôtə̀	*knowledge*		
nyìyá	*sweet cake*	nyìyâ	*marriage*		

3. Tone Practice Word Sets.

3.1. L

bà	*mounting*	ngàwùrè	*tail*
bù	*eating*	nzà	*drinking*
gə̀wòm	*water jar*	nzàsə̀rà	*believing*
màtà	*looking for*	tàndòmà	*builder*

3.2. H

bú	*ashes*	shí	*he, she*
dáwú	*neck*	súró	*stomach*
dúnó	*thigh*	wú	*I*
kámú	*woman, wife*	wútə́	*looking at*

3.3. F

âm	*people*	kə̀lâ	*head*
bû	*blood*	kə̀nə̂m	*sleep*
fə̂r	*horse*	njî	*water*
kâm	*person*	mângìn	*I look for*

3.4. R

kǎimè	*shadow*	kǎiyà	*song*
kǎinò	*odor*	kǎllà	*noise*
kǎiwù	*fear*	kǎusù	*heat*

3.5. H-L

fátò	*house*	sáwà	*friend*
férò	*girl*	tádà	*boy*
ngə́là	*good*	túlùr	*seven*

3.6. L-H

dàló	*bull*	lètə́	*going*
ìndí	*two*	nàndí	*you (pl)*
kòrkór	*circle*	tìló	*one*
kùrú	*again*	yàkkə́, yàskə́	*three*

3.7. H-H-L

híngéngè	*hiccup*	ngə́nə́wù	*trouble, burden*
kúngə́nà	*money*	ngə́ríwù	*bastard*

3.8. L-H-H

gə̀nátə́	*putting down*	kànádí	*patience*
kàmbə́lí	*wrestling*	kàráwú	*proverb*

3.9. L-F

kàkkê	*mine*	kə̀lâ	*head*
kàngê	*fever*	kə̀lî	*raw, green*

3.10. L-H-L

kàntánà	*mosquito*	kə̀ndágə̀	*oil*
Kànúrì	*Kanuri people*	kìtáwù	*book*
kàráà	*bush*	kùrúwù	*long*
kàzáà	*spear*	sə̀násə̀n	*flat cake*

3.11. L-L-H; L_o-H

fə̀rwá	*horses*	Màidùwùrí	*Maiduguri village*
gə̀ràsán	*thread*	mànàtə́	*speaking*
Kànùrí	*Kanuri language*	nàsàrànàsàrá	*English language*
kàràmá	*wax*	tàdàwá	*children*

3.12. H-M-M in words and across morpheme boundaries

ámùsú	*cold*	túrúrùwú	*epileptic seizure*
árzə̀gí	*good fortune*	wúsə̀sá	*hedgehog*
námùsú	*coldness*	Yáràwá	*Yoruba*
tóngòrí	*snoring*	zə́gə̀sə́	*narrow*
ádə̀gái	*like this*	kwânzə́	*her husband*
cìngə̀nyí	*I didn't get up*	rúkə̀nyí	*I didn't see it*
fânnzə́	*his house*	sáwànzə́	*his friend*
fə̂rnzə́	*his horse*	wúnə̀mí	*you didn't look at it*

4. Non-Derived Tone Relations Among Lexical Items. The examples cited in this section may be representative of older tone-based morphological processes which are no longer active in the Kanuri lexicon. It is apparent that there are certain pairs of words from a variety of lexical categories which differ only in tone, and seem to have some semantic relationship.

4.1. Nouns.

dáwù	*middle*	dáwú	*neck*
də́mbà	*irrigated garden square*	də̀mbá	*large calabash gourd bowl*
dúnò	*strength*	dúnó	*thigh*
kólò	*small clay pot*	kóló	*small drum*
ngálwò	*noble, royal, superior*	ngálwó	*better, healthier*
ngə́là	*good*	ngə́lá	*clean*
ngòáà	*shield*	ngòáa	*wrestling*

4.2. Class 2 Verb Roots. For the most part, non-derived class 2 verb roots are level in tone, either high or low. Semantically, many of the high tone roots tend to be transitive, and the low tone roots intransitive. While there are certainly exceptions to this in the following minimal pairs, the semantic relations are quite apparent.

dàm+	*become crowded, fill up*	dám+	*seep, ooze*
fù+	*blow*	fú+	*swell*
kà+	*avoid, escape*	ká+	*open, uncover, reveal*
kòk+	*peck at*	kók+	*plant, stick in ground*
lè+	*go*	lé+	*touch*
sàm+	*distribute, give out*	sám+	*rub on*
sə̀p+	*shovel up*	sə́p+	*lower, bring down*
tàr+	*spread out, lay out*	tár+	*scatter, disperse*
yìn+	*breathe*	yín+	*smell, sniff*
zə̀k+	*scrape, grate, shake*	zə́k+	*annoy, pester, irritate*

5. The Relation of Tone to Lexical Category. A great many Kanuri words might be classified as not basic to the lexicon since their tone pattern is related to their lexical category. In the case of the verbal nouns, the fact that consistent tone patterns are almost always observed is clearly the result of a word formation process. Specific adverbs (ideophones) on the other hand, are not derived but have generalizable tone characteristics perhaps due to their lexical category and use.

5.1. Class 1 Verbal Nouns. All class 1 verbs have a low tone verbal noun; some also have a k-prefixed form which in most cases bears a L-H-L tone pattern (p. 157-8). These derived nominal patterns apply regardless of the underlying tone of the verb root.

bá+	*mount*	bà, kə̀mbâ	*mounting*
bù+	*eat*	bù, kə̀mbû	*eating, food*
fànd+	*find*	fàndò	*finding*
kór+	*ask*	kòrò	*asking, question*

5.2. Class 2 Verbal Nouns. Verbal nouns derived from class 2 roots have two different characteristic tone patterns, depending on the tone of the root. Low tone roots have one verbal noun formed through the suffixation of high tone +tə́ to the low tone root. High tone roots have a high tone verbal noun formed through the suffixation of high tone +tə́ to the high tone root, and a low tone verbal noun formed through the suffixation of low tone +tà to the root with a low tone (p. 160).

lè+	*go*	lètə́	*going*
lé+	*touch*	lètà, létə́	*touching*
tàr+	*spread/lay out*	tàrtə́	*spreading/laying out*
tár+	*scatter, disperse*	tàrtà, tártə́	*scattering, dispersing*

5.3. Specific Adverbs. Specific adverbs represent a unique subpart of the lexicon since in both their segmental and suprasegmental phonological structure they violate many of the constraints that apply to other parts of the lexicon. All of the syllables of a specific adverb are consistently on the same level tone, which more often than not is a high tone.

bűu	*group movement*	gáa	*strong odor*
cít	*very red*	gə́jáb	*very old man*
fə́də́k	*very blind*	sə́lái	*very well*
fők	*very white*	sə̀mbàmbàm	*large buttocks*

5.4. Derived Nouns. One of the many layers of the lexicon is occupied by a group of nouns that have been formed through k-prefixation, a process which is no longer productive in the language (pp. 75-80). Like the k-prefixed verbal nouns for class 1 cited in 5.1 above, many of these nouns occur with the trisyllabic L-H-L tone pattern in the lexicon. Because such nouns are representative of an older word formation process, there are many exceptions to this characteristic tone pattern. When it was productive, it is likely that the k-prefix carried a low tone. As will be observed with regard to still productive word formation processes, it is often the case that the tone of the affix consistently determines the tone pattern of the derived nominal.

assuq A	*market*	kàsúwù	*market*
bə́nè	*trouble*	kàwə́nè	*sorrow, suffering*
gàlá+	*advise*	kàálà	*advice*
sótò	*hospitality*	kùsótò	*guest, stranger*

6. Morphological Tone Change. Tone change plays a very crucial role in the derivational morphology of the language, as well as in the morphology of the verb. A very common process involves the alteration of the lexical tone of a word so that the final syllable is high tone, and all preceding syllables are low tone, symbolized by L$_o$H. Semantically this process very often results in a derived form that is abstract in meaning as compared to its source. The L$_o$H tone pattern is also prevalent in nominals derived through compounding (see p. 67). Only a few examples representative of these processes are presented here.

fúfù	*lungs*	fùfú	*permanent cough*
shímálò	*tears*	shìmàló	*cattle disease with tearing*
férò	*girl*	fèró	*typical of a girl, girlish*
díwì	*you do it*	dìwí	*you did it*
mánəm	*you look for and*	mànəmbúi	*daily bread*
búi	*eat it*		
cí	*mouth*	cìkùndùlí	*moustache*
kùndúlì	*hair*		
Kànúrì	*Kanuri people*	Kànùrí	*Kanuri language*

7. Tone Changing Affixes. A great many of the synchronically productive word formation affixes of the language carry an inherent tone, and in their application alter the tone pattern of the word to which they are applied. Only a few representative examples are included here since the affixes are examined in detail in chapter 8. For the plural of the noun see page 43.

férò	*girl*	fèròwá	*girls*
kámú	*woman*	kàmùmí	*effeminate male*
làwân	*village head*	làwàntí	*village head's residence*
kàsâm	*breeze*	kàsàmrám	*window*

CHAPTER 5: THE STANDARD KANURI ORTHOGRAPHY (SKO)

1. Introduction. With very few minor exceptions, the Kanuri language data presented in this reference grammar is written according to the principles and conventions of what is referred to as the Standard Kanuri Orthography, hereafter the SKO. The SKO represents an effort towards the standardization of the writing of Kanuri. It includes not only the prescribed roman alphabet for the writing of the language but also rules for the spelling of words and other grammatical morphemes of the language which have in the past been written with varying and divergent spellings.

Because of the anticipated growth in the use of the Kanuri language for educational and literacy purposes it was deemed important that a standard orthography of the language be developed, with the Yerwa dialect widely acclaimed as the standard for this writing system. The SKO is rooted in Kanuri as it is spoken in the Yerwa area (greater Maiduguri Metropolitan) today. Nearly all of the Kanuri language publications produced in Nigeria in recent history have also been based on Yerwa Kanuri. Thus the SKO represents the modern standardized form of the Kanuri writing tradition. Given the present-day political importance of Maiduguri (Yerwa) as the seat of the Shehu of Borno, and as the capital of Borno State, there can be little doubt of the importance of the Yerwa dialect, which can be said, for these reasons, to be functioning as the modern day 'lingua franca' of the Kanuri dialects spoken in Nigeria.

Because it has now been adopted as one of the languages to be used in primary schools for Universal Free Primary Education (UPE) in Nigeria, the language is now making great progress toward full development as a written language. Hopefully the next twenty years will see its growth as a popularly read and written language with a substantial body of published materials available to a literate Kanuri reading public. In the past, no such united, concentrated effort was made, and thus there was no attempt to standardize the writing system. Materials were produced sporadically; an adult literacy newspaper did not survive. Things were produced in a variety of inconsistent orthographies, coming from different dialects and written at different periods of educational development. This is quite understandable since these efforts were never accompanied by a complementary educational policy which contributed to the development of the language. Orthography tests carried out in 1974 in Maiduguri showed that students in teacher training colleges wrote certain problemmatical words in as many as nine different ways (cf Cyffer, 1977:50-1).

The SKO was developed during 1974-5 in Maiduguri by the research staff of Bayero University Kano's Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, in collaboration with the Kanuri Language Board and local representatives of the Ministry of Education. The Orthography Committee of the Kanuri Language Board put the finishing touches on an earlier proposed orthography, and the finished product was finally unanimously approved by the Kanuri Language Board for adoption in late 1975. It is the purpose of the present chapter to describe some of the principles involved in the development and application of the SKO, so that the user of the present work will not encounter difficulties in dealing with Kanuri as it is written.

2. Basic Principles of the SKO. In general, the overriding principle applied in the development of the SKO was that the orthography should reflect the pronunciation of the Kanuri word in a systematic and predictable way, with as few exceptions as possible. In addition, wherever possible, an attempt was made to retain the historical CV(C) structure of the Kanuri syllable in the written word. In applying this principle, the already existing

Kanuri (Roman) alphabet was used. This was done in order to avoid the educational and the financial costs that would have resulted from the creation of new letters and symbols, the use of diacritics such as tone markings, or the addition of new and unfamiliar vowel and consonant symbols. All of the latter were rejected as possible ways of standardizing the writing of Kanuri.

The result would have to be described as a compromise between a phonetic, a phonemic, and a morphemic orthography. Nevertheless, within the boundaries of the Kanuri word, the SKO does consistently represent modern Kanuri pronunciation in a systematic and predictable fashion. The SKO is faithful to the pronunciation of all lexical items, and to all derivational and inflectional affixes which occur within the word. A word may be described for the purposes of the SKO as any morpheme or collection of morphemes which may occur autonomously as the head of a phrase as a nominal or pronominal, as the modifier of the head of a sentence or phrase as an adjectival, as a finite or non-finite verb form, or as the adverbial modifier of a sentence or verb, with or without suffixes. Whether functioning independently within the sentence, or in a dependent role attributively, such forms are words and are written independently according to the SKO.

2.1. Writing the Dependent Suffixes. The writing of the Kanuri word as described above, is basically phonemic according to the SKO, though many of the allophones of the basic phonemes are reflected in the writing of the word. The dependent suffixes however function as grammatical function markers throughout the language and obviously occur outside of the word. In order that they be consistently recognizable they are therefore written morphemically, with allophonic variations and phonetic realizations not being reflected according to the SKO. Suffixes are any meaning-bearing elements which may only occur in a dependent role preceded by the above defined 'word'. Because of the Kanuri writing tradition, and as well for many morphophonological reasons, suffixes are written directly suffixed to a preceding head word or to any other preceding suffix, using no hyphenation or other means of separation. In the present text they are sometimes separated for pedagogical purposes by a plus (+) sign, which is not part of the SKO. Elements that fall into this class of dependent suffixes written together with preceding heads include both modifier elements that occur at the level of the phrase, as well as grammatical function markers at the level of the sentence. Included in this group of dependent suffixes are: the dependent determiner +də́, the possessive suffixes, and the postpositions, the latter being the grammatical function markers at the phrase, clause and sentence levels and thus functioning also as subordinators and complementizers.

In general, as mentioned above, the principle applied to the dependent suffixes in the development of the SKO was that they should always be distinct and unambiguous as they occur in written Kanuri. Therefore the SKO writing of the dependent suffixes is generally consistent and unchanging throughout their uses, and in some cases does not reflect their actual pronunciation. This principle should be a great learning aid to the Kanuri child or adult learning to read and read Kanuri, and also to the non-Kanuri student of the language. The reason for this is that the inherent typological ordering of the language, plus its assimilative phonology, combine to make it extremely difficult to recognize certain morphemes. The plethora of suffixes and the inevitable stacking of determiners, adjectives, postpositions and subordinators at the end of words, phrases and clauses contribute to this problem. This is especially a problem with regard to the postpositions which function as grammatical function markers. Thus the agent postposition +ye and the genitive postposition +be are always written as such regardless of their pronunciation to clearly distinguish them, even though in certain environments and for certain speakers their pronunciation may be identical.

Because the grammatical analysis presented in the present work differs with regard to the analysis of certain of the postpositions from that implied by the SKO, certain discrepancies in the writing of these postpositions will be apparent. What the SKO treats as four different morphemes (at least orthographically) are according to the present analysis all one and the same morpheme, and thus are all written the same in the Kanuri data presented here. These morphemes are the SKO's associative postposition +(C+)à, the direct object postposition +gà, the conditional subordinator +gà, and the subordinator of the verb emphasis past +yà. In chapters 22, 25 and 31, we present evidence that all of these functions are in fact carried out by a single morpheme, here referred to as the associative postposition and written everywhere as the assimilating +(C+)à. When a series of noun phrases are conjoined by the associative postposition, each one of the conjoined noun phrases is separated from the associative postposition by a hyphen according to the SKO. This represents the only use of a hyphen which is a part of the SKO.

Though tone is indicated on all of the Kanuri data presented in the present work, it is not included as part of the SKO. It has been indicated here for the benefit of the linguist and the student of Kanuri. Its absence from the SKO rarely, if ever, results in any problem of ambiguity for the Kanuri speaker when reading Kanuri.

The segmental phonology of the application of the associative postposition and that of plural formation in Kanuri are identical, though they do differ with regard to the suprasegmental feature of tone. The associative postposition does not alter the lexical tone of the word to which it is applied, whereas the plural morpheme is always high tone and changes all preceding tones to low, yielding the L_oH tone pattern. The SKO takes care of this potential problem by always writing the associative postposition as it is pronounced, showing assimilative consonant gemination in consonant-final environments. The plural morpheme however, is always written as +wa, even though it is never pronounced in that way except after words ending in a back vowel. This is shown in the following examples.

SKO	*phonetic*	*meaning*
fər	[fə̂r]	*horse*
fərwa	[fə̀rrá]	*horses*
fərra	[fə̂rrà]	*having a horse*
fərwaa	[fə̀rrâà]	*having horses*

2.2. Compounding and the SKO. Certain morphological processes of Kanuri involving tone change may result in a lexical item essentially losing its status as an autonomous, independently written word according to the SKO, and in its being written together with another word. The process of building compound words from two independent words through tone change is very productive in Kanuri. The SKO reflects this process by writing the derived compound as one word. Thus, written independently, the two words shîm *eye* and kə̀lî *green* may combine to shîm kə̀lî meaning *green eye*. However if the two are compounded to the L_oH compound shìmkə̀lí, the meaning of this derived compound is *jaundice, hepatitis*.

Other principles and conventions of the SKO which relate specifically to certain areas of the grammar will be referred to when relevant at various points in the present work.

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CHAPTER 6: THE LEXICAL CATEGORY *NOUN*

1. Introduction. It is the purpose of this chapter to first briefly analyze the categorical structure of the Kanuri lexicon and to establish the prominence of the lexical category *noun*. Secondly, the various kinds of nouns that occur in the language will be presented, with a small group of examples presented for each noun type. Reference will be made to a possible semantic grouping of the nouns of the language based on the kind of referents to which the nouns refer, in terms of classificatory features like generic, unique, specific, etc. The relation of such semantic groupings to the analysis of the grammar of the language will be briefly discussed. The formation of the plural form of the noun will also be described in detail. It is shown to be one of the tone changing morphological processes of Kanuri, which may be relatable to some of the tone changing processes described on p. 65. A collection of nouns that have entered Kanuri from Arabic are also presented late in this chapter. Their phonological form has clearly been affected by the segmental and suprasegmental phonology of Kanuri over time.

2. Characteristics of the Lexical Category *Noun*. According to the present analysis, the lexical category *noun* covers a much broader spectrum of lexical items in the Kanuri language than has traditionally been understood. Based on meaning, usage, and syntactic behavior, it is apparent that the lexical category *noun* is perhaps the only lexical category (other than those of *verb* and *specific adverb*) that exists in the language. The reason for this is that words that translate into other languages as adjectives (see p. 36) and adverbs (see p. 37) have no overt phonological, morphological or syntactic characteristics that differ from the same characteristics of words that translate into other languages as nouns. Syntactically, Kanuri words that translate into all three categories in other languages (i.e. noun, adjective, and adverb) may all be marked by the nominal determiner +də́, which is indicative of the constituent status *noun* or *nominal*. Some words which in isolation translate with adverbial meanings into other languages in fact must be marked by an oblique (adverbial) postposition before they can perform an adverbial function in usage.

The syllable structure and the basic phonological characteristics of the word, with specific reference to the noun, were presented on p. 15. In light of the present proposal that the lexical categories *adjective* and *adverb* do not exist, then these basic characteristics can now be extended to apply to the entire Kanuri lexicon, with the exception of the verb and the specific adverb. Lexical items which translate into other languages as adjectives, may therefore be referred to as *adjectival nouns* (see p. 36), or nouns that perform attributive functions; similarly for adverbs, they may be referred to as *adverbial nouns* (see p. 37), or nouns that perform adverbial functions.

3. Lexical vs. Derived Nouns. Morphologically speaking, there are two basic noun types: 1) nouns that are indivisible morphologically, made up of one morpheme and belonging to the basic core lexicon, and 2) nouns that are polymorphemic, made up of more than one morpheme (either diachronically or synchronically), derived perhaps from a given lexical item together with derivational affixes, or even as a compound in combination with another lexical item. Among the derived nouns of Kanuri are those made up of affixal word formatives which are no longer representative of productive morphological processes in the language. For example, the originally Arabic class 2 verb root lə̀fà+ meaning *greet*, may be used as a simple noun léfà *greeting*, but through k+ prefixation, the derived

noun kə̀léwà meaning *well, healthy* has been formed. K-prefixation is one of the word formation processes which is no longer productive in the language. These processes are covered in chapter 10.

The productive derivational morphology of Kanuri is replete with processes for word formation that involve either 1) affixation, or 2) phonological alteration, or both. The latter word formation processes based in phonological change may be either segmental, involving processes like reduplication and vowel epenthesis, or suprasegmental, involving tone change as a productive word formation process. Phonologically derived, the word kòmkòmí meaning something like *calculation*, is derived through reduplication and vowel epenthesis from the class 2 verb root kòm+ *count, include, cite*. Through tone alteration alone the word ngànjí meaning *chest cough, TB*, is formed from the word for *chest* which is ngánjì. All of the nouns derived through such phonological processes are treated in ch. 9. Turning now to the former productive process of affixation, it is apparent that it may involve either suffixation (which is by far the most common form) as in the word bàrèmá *farmer*, which is derived from the noun bárè *farming*, through the application of the agent/owner suffix +ma; or prefixation, as in the word nə̀mzòlí *madness, craziness*, which is derived from the adjectival noun zòlí *crazy, crazy person*, through the application of the abstract nominal prefix nə̀m+. All of the words formed through this type of productive affixation are treated in chapter 8.

4. Adjectival Nouns. As observed above, there is nothing about the structure of words functioning as modifiers in Kanuri that overtly distinguishes them as a lexical category apart from the nouns of the language, nothing that is other than their translation into other languages. Both are made up of the same lexical formatives. Both may have the same productive affixes applied to them in the derivational morphology. Given the fact that all lexical and derived nouns may occur as modifiers to head nouns in both simple and complex noun phrases, plus the fact that words, translating as adjectives in other languages may also function independently as nominals, there seems to be no reason to make a distinction between the adjectives and the nouns of Kanuri. Any difference which exists is only the semantic one which arises when they are translated into other languages that more clearly distinguish the two categories. Thus the adjectival nouns of Kanuri are a sub-group of the nouns of the language, which more readily lend themselves to the attributive modifier function than do the remaining nouns of the language. The word cìmê for example may be used as a modifier meaning *red*, or as a noun meaning *the red one*, or even to mean *redness*, though for the latter meaning there is also the alternative derived nə̀mcìmê *redness* formed through the affixation of the abstract nominal prefix. Many words go constantly back and forth between the constituent status of noun and modifier, such as cárì which means *old (of a man)* or *old man*, and colloquially to refer to one's father. The word cárì is also used by many in naming, both as a nickname and for a namesake. Similarly, the word kə̀múrsò means *old (of a woman)* when used as a modifier, and *old woman*, when used as an independent head. The word kúrà means *big, important* as a modifer, and either *boss, leader, head* or *the big one, the important one*, when used as an independent head. The nouns férò *girl*, kámú *woman, wife*, and kwângâ *man*, all function readily as modifiers meaning *female (of a child), female (of a relative)*, and *male*, respectively. kòrí means *short (of a woman)*, or *a short woman*.

Any of the words that have traditionally been translated as and referred to as adjectives of Kanuri can function as noun phrase heads, referring back to an anaphorically understood noun phrase antecedent. Thus when marked with the determiner +də́, adjectival nouns take on noun phrase meanings like *the* ____ *one* or *the one that is* ____ , as in e.g. sháwàdə́ *the pretty one*, kùrwówùdə́ *the heavy one*, etc. When pluralized in the noun phrase head position, such adjectival nouns may take on the generic meanings comparable to English noun phrases like *the rich, the poor,* etc.

The following list represents a small sample of what are here being referred to as adjectival nouns, or lexical nouns that translate as adjectives when used in the noun phrase modifier function.

bútù	*cheap, easy*	kə̀skê	*easy, simple, unimportant*
kúrà	*big, important*	díwì	*bad*
kə̀jî	*nice, pleasing, sweet*	kùrwówù	*heavy*
cîm	*bitter*	sháwà	*pretty*
dîn	*old, used, worn out*	sə́lə́m	*black*
cìmê	*red, fair-skinned*	kàfúwù	*short*
kàmbâi	*light (in weight)*	gàná	*small, little*
ngə́là	*good*	zâu	*difficult, expensive*
kúttù	*unpleasant, bad-tasting*	lélé	*sweet*
bə̀lîn	*new*	bûl	*white*
kə̀lî	*green, raw, wet*	kùrúwù	*long, tall*
gálíwù	*rich*	zə́gə̀sə́	*narrow*

5. Adverbial Nouns. In this section are presented the non-derived lexical items which function as *adverbs* in Kanuri. Since the language has no true *adverbs*, the words presented here are of the lexical category *noun* and are therefore referred to here as *adverbial nouns*. Though adverbial in meaning, they are syntactically nouns and may be marked for this status by certain of the suffixes used to mark nouns, such as the determiner +də́. When they occur in non-verbal sentences, they most often appear in sentence-initial position, as in e.g. Kû kâusùà *(literally: Today has heat.) It is hot out today*. The most common use of adverbial nouns is in verbal sentences where they always occur in pre-verb position. In pre-verb position though they often tend to occur in sentence-initial position, their order in relation to other constituents may vary quite freely.

Most of the adverbial nouns function as time adverbs. As such, they normally function as an integrated part of the clause or sentence in which they occur. Unless somehow separated by a determiner or a disjunctive postposition, they function as normal time adjuncts to the verb. When in sentence-initial position they function as sentence adverbs, with the entire sentence as their domain, and essentially performing the semantic function of topic for the clause in which they occur, as in e.g.: Kû kàsúwùrò lêngîn. *Today I am going to the market*. As reflected in the preceding example, they normally precede other adverbial phrases e.g. of place, instrument, etc. When adjacent to the verb, they fall within the domain of the verb phrase, as in e.g. Álì bískà lèwónò. *Ali went yesterday*.

The following adverbial nouns require no oblique postpositional marking in realizing their function as adverbs of time.

bálì	*tomorrow*	kúllùm	*always, every day*
bálìmìnnà	*next year*	kûrè	*long ago*
bískà	*yesterday*	kâusù	*noon, heat of the day*
bìskántò	*day before yesterday*	mə́ndè	*last year*
bìskàntòmí	*two days ago*	mə̀ndétə̀	*year before last*
câ	*formerly*	mə̀ndètə̀mí	*two years ago*
kə́mə́ndè	*this year*	wàyé	*in just a short while*
kû	*today*	súwà	*morning, in the morning*

6. Noun Types and Their Referents. It is impossible to adequately deal with the semantic classification of nouns and their referents without incorporating a discussion of the determiner system as well. Nevertheless, one can lay the groundwork for that discussion (see ch.21)by introducing the notions involved here, and by presenting some of the ways in which Kanuri nouns can be grouped when considered in isolation.

Without speaking of the referents of the noun in the discourse context, it is possible to classify the nouns according to the degree to which they are common or general in referring to a semantic class. The following group of nouns represent the most general nouns of Kanuri for the categories indicated. It is generally agreed that the restrictive relative clause in any language represents the most restrictive form of modification possible, where it is the information borne by the relative clause that is the most important new information crucial to identifying, and not the lexical head noun itself. The following general nouns are those that occur most frequently in the role of head noun in the relative clause construction.

HUMAN	kâm		*person, man*
OBJECT	àwó		*thing*
PLACE	nâ		*place*
TIME	sâ	*A*	*time*
ANIMATE NON-HUMAN	dábbà	*A*	*animal (wild or domestic)*
MANNER	fútù		*way, means, method*
REASON	dàlîl	*A*	*reason*

It will be shown in the treatment of the complex noun phrase that the first four nouns of the above group are frequently omitted when they occur as head nouns of relative clause constructions, being anaphorically understood in the utterance context.

6.1. Personal Nouns with Inherent Gender. There are a great many sex-specific personal nouns in Kanuri, based on natural sex distinctions. Examples are presented in the following list.

kámú	*woman, wife*	zówòr	*divorced woman*
kwângâ	*man*	kə̀lə̀yàkkə́	*young unmarried girl*
kwâ	*man, husband*	kə̀múrsò	*old woman*
tádà	*boy, son*	cárì	*old man*
férò	*girl, daughter*	záiró	*young single man*
gúdùm	*middle-aged woman*	kə̀shìyánà	*woman (contemptuous)*
kwânà	*guy (male only)*	ràshídì	*male head of family*

6.2. Personal Nouns of Dual Gender. From the list presented in 6.1, the word tádà may also be used without reference to gender to mean *offspring* or *child*. Other personal nouns of this type are presented below.

kâm	*person*	sáwà	*friend*
kə̀làmá	*peer*	kámâ	*companion, friend*
tíwàl *A*	*infant*	kâm kúrà	*important person*
bàrèmá	*farmer*	fátómà	*spouse*
kàsùwùmá	*market merchant*	kàrwàmá	*periodically mad person*

Many of the kinship terms of Kanuri are not gender specific, and must be specified with a modifier when gender is to be indicated.

yèiyá	*elder sibling*	kə̀rámì	*younger sibling*
kàá	*grandmother/-father*	kə̀sâi	*in-law*

Others like yâ *mother*, bâ *father*, ráwà *uncle (mother's brother)*, etc. are clearly gender specific.

6.3. Non-Count Nouns. Among the following group of nouns are those that are inherently plural and those that are not normally pluralized. All are presented with their meanings as non-count nouns.

dúlì	*children*	dâ	*meat*
kúngənà	*money*	bû	*blood*
kàjîm	*grass, hay*	àrgə̂m	*millet*
másàr	*corn*	kóljì	*groundnuts*
cídà	*work*	bə́rì	*food*
câm	*milk*	njî	*water*
kə̀ská	*wood, firewood*	wújìr	*business*
fə́lá	*cream*	kə̀ndágə̀	*oil*

When used as count nouns, kə̀ská means *tree*, wújìr means *need*, cídà means *job*, and bə́rì means *meal*.

6.4. Animal Species. It is generally the case that for domestic animals there are separate lexical nouns for reference to the female and to the male of the species, and sometimes also a separate lexical noun for the offspring of the species. For species that have both a male and a female lexical noun, it is normally the name of the female of the species which is used generally to describe the animal, with the male lexical noun used to refer specifically to a male. For wild animals, there are not normally separate nouns to distinguish male and female, but rather one noun to refer generally to the animal, male or female. For such species that do not have gender-specific nouns, the nouns kùrkúrì and bî can be used either independently or as modifiers to specify the female and the male of the species, respectively.

kùwûi	*chicken, hen*	gùdòwúm	*cock, rooster*
kànyî	*goat, she-goat*	daal	*he-goat*
dímì	*sheep, female sheep*	ngə́lárò	*ram*
fê	*cattle, cow*	dàló	*bull*
fê gámbà	*old cow*	kə́nnâ	*calf*
fə̂r	*horse*	kàlìímò	*camel*
kústà	*colt, foal, baby camel*	fə̂r kùrkúrì	*mare*
kùrkúrì	*female of any species*	fə̂r bî	*stallion*
bî	*male of any species*	dágə̀l	*monkey, ape*
búltù	*hyena*	cílcílì	*skunk*
cígə̀	*fly*	də́lá	*jackal*
kə̀nyérí	*squirrel*	kə̂mówùn	*elephant*
kə̀rgálíwù	*bustard*	kə̀ryə́gə̀	*ostrich*
ngə́rí	*gazelle*	kə́rì	*dog*

7. Proper Nouns and Nouns of Unique Reference. Clearly all of the proper nouns of any language qualify as nouns of unique reference. Proper nouns include personal names, place and geographical names, the days, the months, festivals and celebrations, titles and offices, etc. Some proper nouns relevant to the Kanuri speaking area of northeastern Nigeria are presented here.

Sádə̀	*Lake Chad*	Yêrwà	*Yerwa (Maiduguri)*
Màidùwùrí	*Maiduguri village*	Kə̀mádúwù Yôbè	*Yo River*
Mákkà	*Mecca*	Fàránsà	*France, Chad, Niger*
Fòrlómì	*Ndjamena, Chad*	Bámà	*Bama*
Àfùnòrí	*Hausa quarter/ward*	Àlhàjìrí	*pilgrim registration area*
Shèhùrí	*Shehu's palace/ward*	Lìmàntí	*Imam's residence/ward*
Zə̀màrâm	*friday mosque*	Kàsúwù Lə̀tə̀lînbè/	*Yerwa's monday market*
Nigeria	*Nigeria*	Lə̀tə̀lìn Yêrwàbè	
Shúwà	*Shuwa Arab*	Kànémbù	*Kanembu*
Kə́rgè Bórnòbè	*Borno State*	Îkò	*Lagos*

Certain lexical nouns may as well be used in much the same way that proper nouns are used. Some of these nouns are inherently nouns of unique reference, for example in the case of the sun, of which there is only one in the universe. Others of them are not inherently so, but may be used as nouns of unique reference in a given context.

kə̀ngâl	*the sun*	kə́mbàl	*the moon*
sálà	*prayer*	njî	*water, the well*
kàsúwù	*market, the central market*	fátò	*home, the house*
kúlò	*farm, the field*	máshídì	*the mosque*
yâ	*mother*	bâ	*father*

7.1. Titles. One is constantly aware of the very important role played by titles in Borno, at every level of Kanuri society. Their importance historically and at present in the society cannot be understated. Whether gained through an honorary turbaning ceremony, through an election, through one's heritage, through performance of the pilgrimage to Mecca, through naming, or through simple adoption, they are constantly used both in addressing people and in referring to people. In many parts of the society titles are much more important than given names, and they very often replace given names. The history of Borno lives today in the system of traditional titles. Some examples are presented here.

Shéhù
Shèttímà Kúwàa
Mâi Kə̀nándì
Wàzírì
Shèttímà Kànúrìbè

The holders of the following offices may also become known by the title of the office rather than by their given names. Reference to such people is often made by the use of the title followed by the geographical name of the area over which they govern.

Àjâ	*District Head*	Làwân	*Village/Ward Head*
Bə́làmà	*Head of small village*	Lə̀gálì	*Judge*

There are a number of titles which reflect one's position or status in relation to the Islamic faith. Some of these are professional offices, which may be used alone to refer to the person holding the office, or followed by the name of the geographical area covered by the office and/or the person's given name. Others reflect the degree of a person's mastery of the Holy Koran. Others are earned as a result of making the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Lìmâm	*the Imam*	Làdân	*the muezzin*
Gònyí	*master of the Holy Koran*	málàm	*Koranic teacher*
Ájjà	*female pilgrim to Mecca*	Àlhájì	*male pilgrim to Mecca*

Persons without titles may be generally addressed and referred to by the terms Málàm for a man, and Málàmà for a woman. These terms may be used both with and without a following given name.

7.2. Personal Names and Naming. The selection of personal names and the naming system might be described as much more flexible in Kanuri society than the one with which we are familiar. The sources of names are diverse and the first-last name division does not exist. Given names comparable to first names are given to a child on the day of the naming ceremony. These given names are normally selected either via the religion in consultation with a malam, or through the process of namesaking, in which the parents of the infant choose to honor a friend or relative by naming their child after that person. Such given names are normally selected from a relatively small group of originally Arabic names which have entered Kanuri. Examples are presented here.

male	*female*
Ali	Fanta
Musa	Aisa
Mamadu/Modu/Mahamat	Fanna
Mustafa/Masaa	Amsatu
Tijani/Tuja/Tija	Mariam
Dala	Hawa/Awa
Adam	Amina
Ibrahim	Fati
Abubakar/Bukar	Falmata
Amadu	

As might be expected, there is nothing sacred about the given name, and it is often exchanged for another name. I believe that even second names may be used in place of the given first name. Nicknaming is another source of names that replace a person's given name. For example, all of the following are nicknames or dárwùn, for the given male name Tijani. A child with the given name Tijani, may at any time be referred to by any one of the following nicknames, or alternatively, one of the nicknames might permanently replace the given name as the name by which the child will be known.

Ahmed
Kuli Malia Talia
Tijanima
Kuli
Shehu Ahmed
Zairo Shambulbe
Rabbanima
Kuli Kuwuiye Kokcinba

Another factor which further complicates the naming process in Kanuri is that a child who is named after someone, may be referred to by the given name of his namesake or cùwùná, or by any of the nicknames and/or titles by which that namesake is known. Thus a girl who is for example named Fanna after her aunt who has been to Mecca, might come to be known by the name Ajja or Ajja Gana *little ajja*, after the title that her aunt has earned by making the pilgrimmage.

Given names may also be replaced in usage by non-Arabic names that are Kanuri words which are chosen by the parents to protect the health of the child, or in the belief that by calling a child by such a name the child will live and not be taken from them. The following names are for the most part selected by parents to replace given names when the couple have previous lost many children at birth or in infancy.

Ndawuro
Amarjiya/Amarca
Kolo
Waata
Waani
Nojiya
Gapciya
Kunduli
Suwuli

Second names similarly come from a great variety of sources and may or may not replace the given name as the name by which a person comes to be known. One of the major sources is those names derived from the parents' names or those of other relations, which represent derived nominals which express for example filial relations. These productive derivational processes are discussed on p 58 and on p. 60. Other sources of second names are occupations or professions and villages of origin. Both of these latter sources are normally derived through the application of the agent/owner suffix +ma, which is treated on p. 56. Some examples are presented here.

Mai Bukar Madzinama
Malam Tamsu Sunoma
Gamboruma
Shettima Ali Monguno
Ali Kulloma
Mai Dunoma
Tijani Gamboru
Wakkil Modu Bəlama

8. Nouns Borrowed from Arabic. The following list of nouns is a sample of those that have entered the Kanuri language at various times in its history from the Arabic language. Words that have entered the Kanuri language from sources other than Arabic are insignificant in comparison to those from Arabic. The Arabic sources of the following words are not indicated. Many have been greatly altered by the phonology of Kanuri. In some cases one observes that the Arabic definite article al+ is retained in some form as a prefix on the Kanuri word as well. In other cases the l of the definite article has become the initial consonant of the Kanuri counterpart, followed in some cases by an epenthetic vowel. In still other cases it is apparent that the k+ prefix has been applied as a word formative to the Arabic borrowing. This considerable variety with regard to the phonological processes that have been applied to the borrowings by the phonology of Kanuri may reflect different stages in the history of the language at which these words entered Kanuri. It may also reflect the effects of the phonologies of other languages on the borrowed words, i.e. other languages which may have served as the medium through which these originally Arabic words were actually introduced into Kanuri. The phonological structure of the borrowed word is also a relevant factor.

àrgálàm/àlkálàm	*pen, quill*
àlgámà/lə̀gámà/làámà	*wheat*
lùwásàr	*onion*
Lùwùrân	*Holy Koran*
lìmân	*imam*
làwân	*village head*
làdân	*muezzin*
kìtáwù	*book*
líwùlà	*needle*
líwú	*pocket*
lóktù/hóktù/wóktù	*time*
háwàr	*news*
lámàr	*event*
àlbíshìr	*good news*
káwàr	*grave*
bòwûl	*urine*
àlə́gà	*creation*
álə̀gə̀	*creature*
sháfì	*page*
dínàr	*gold*
sádáà	*alms*
sàdágə̀	*groom's present to bride*
hákkì	*tax*
hàrâm	*forbidden by religion*
lə́bdə̀	*padded horse covering*
làwátə́rá	*mule*
jàráwà	*temptation, addiction*
fàsárì	*explanation, translation*
àsárà	*miscarried child*
lùwálì	*protector*
àshêm	*Ramadan fast*
àlló	*slate, writing tablet*
hâiyà	*truth, fact*
lǎimà	*tent, umbrella*

kìtáwù	*book*
kàsúwù	*market*
kàlgə́tàn/kàltân	*cotton*
kə̀násàr	*victory*
kə̀léwà	*well, healthy*
kàlìímò	*camel*
kə́rà	*reading, study*
léfà	*greeting*
shárà	*law, justice*
sálà	*prayer*
sámì	*sky*
sánàm	*fetish, superstition*
sàndúwù	*box, trunk*
gálíwù	*rich*
kàsálà	*bath*
gàsálà	*bathing the dead*
lə̀mân	*wealth, property, livestock*
dábbà	*animal*
sə́rdə̀	*saddle*
sàlâm	*greeting, present*
màlâiyà	*angel*
sòwórì	*idea, consultation*
súwà	*morning*
lə̀gálì	*judge*
láyà	*amulet*
làshá	*evening prayer/meal*
lárdə̀	*country, region*
nàjásà	*excrement*
àsár	*loss*
lòrúsà	*bride, bridegroom*
ríwà	*profit*
hàléwà	*candy, sweets*
ízə̀nì	*permission*
hêr	*peace*

lâirà	*judgement day*	lâdə̀	*sunday*
lə̀wáyà	*market business*	lə̀tə̀lîn	*monday*
fájàr	*early morning prayer/time*	tàlágə̀	*tuesday*
dúwàr	*2:00 prayer/time period*	lárâwà	*wednesday*
âsàr	*4:00 prayer/time period*	làmísə̀	*thursday*
máirù	*dusk prayer/time period*	zə́mà	*friday*
màskîn	*poor person*	sə́bdə̀	*saturday*
âiwù	*sin*	mốwốsə̀	*scissors*
gúrsù	*Maria Theresa dollar*	fâidà	*use*
lâunò	*color*	fárgì	*vagina*
árzə̀gí	*luck, good fortune*	tàrtîb	*plan, arrangement, order*
sàkân	*kettle*	tájîrwà	*danger*
tágà	*window*	shíkə̀l	*vowel*
kúrìs	*chair, stool*	kárnù	*century*
hâl	*character*	fùwùrá	*student of the Holy Koran*
jàmâ	*public*	zìyárà	*visit*
bə̀ndə́gə̀	*gun*		

9. The Plural Form of the Noun. The plural form of a count noun is indicated according to the SKO by the application of the plural suffix +wa, which is written as part of the word to which it is applied, without hyphenation or separation, thus fərwa *horses* from fər *horse*. The plural suffix is high tone, and when applied to a noun renders all of the preceding tones of the singular form as low tones, thus fə̂r becomes fə̀rwá. Thus plural formation represents a tone altering morphological process which may be relatable to those described in ch. 9 in which the resulting tone pattern is L_0H.

The spelling of the plural suffix according to the SKO does not represent its actual pronunciation. Except for tonal differences, the actual segmental phonological shape of the plural suffix and that of the associative postposition are one and the same. Thus in pronunciation, the final consonant of a consonant-final word is actually geminated when it is applied (as discussed on p. 30). Because of the confusion that might result from this phonological identity since the SKO does not include tone marking, the plural suffix +wá therefore always clearly distinguishes the plural form of the noun from the associative-marked form, for which the consonant assimilation is shown.

singular		*plural*		*associative-marked*	
bàbúr	*motorcycle*	bàbùrwá	[bàbùrrá]	bàbúrrà	*having motorcycle*
férò	*girl*	fèròwá	[fèròá]	féròà	*having a girl*
mâi	*king*	màiwá	[màiá]	mâià	*having a king*
njîm	*hut*	njìmwá	[njìmmá]	njîmmà	*having a hut*
kàsúwù	*market*	kàsùwùwá	[kàsùwùá]	kàsúwù	*having a market*
súwúràm	*key*	sùwùràmwá	[sùwùràmmá]	súwúràmmà	*having a key*
kòrò	*question*	kòròwá	[kòròá]	kòròà	*having a question*
kóró	*donkey*	kòròwá	[kòròá]	kóróà	*having a donkey*

Pluralization represents perhaps the single most consistently productive morphological process in the language with regard to the form of the affix, the tone pattern of the derived plural, and the universality of its application. It can be applied to any lexical count noun of the language, and even to non-count nouns if desired. The very few exceptions are indicated below.

9.1. Irregular Plural Forms. The only known irregular plurals of the language are shown here. Only one noun is involved, and two adjectival nouns.

singular		*plural*	
kâm	*person*	âm	*people*
kúrà	*big*	wúrà	*big*
gàná	*little, small*	sə́nàná	*little, small*

The adjectival noun kúrà is irregular not only in that it has the above irregular plural form, but also in that it productively accepts the plural affix on either its singular or its plural form. Thus the following three forms are all possible and will all be heard as ways of expressing *the big/old/important people*: âm wúrà/âm kùràwá/âm wùràwá. Such noun phrases are not however typical since it is not normally the case that the plural affix is applied to an adjectival noun modifying a plural head noun. This and other related problems are discussed in detail in ch.20 where the forms modifiers take are treated.

CHAPTER 7: THE PRONOUNS

1. Introduction. The term nominal refers to a large and varied class of constituents which may function in noun phrase positions in a language. Different types of nominals function in different ways in speech to recall or cite for one's listener the referent to which a nominal refers. In Kanuri speech, as in all languages, a speaker has a variety of nominal types from which to choose in bringing the referent to the listener's mind. A speaker at any given time, selects on the basis of what he assumes to be the state of the listener's thought and awareness in the context of the utterance. The various noun types introduced in ch. 6 would fall at the more explicit end of the spectrum of nominal devices that a language may use to essentially capture the referent. The various noun types may be packaged in different ways, depending on the semantic role they are to play in a given utterance. This packaging is effected by the many possible combinations of modifiers and determiners described in ch. 8. Pronouns are basically nominals which may be used to replace the more explicit noun phrases, when the referent is somehow understood in the context of the utterance, and thus one of the more explicit nominal forms is not necessary. It is the purpose of this chapter to present all of the various categories of Kanuri nominals which may perform this pronominal function of non-explicit representation of a noun phrase whose referent is understood in the context of the utterance. Also to be included here are the pronouns which represent an unknown referent, namely the interrogative pronouns, and their cognate indefinite pronouns which have an indeterminate referent.

2. Personal Pronouns. The personal pronouns may be used to replace noun phrases having human referents.

1S	wú	*I*	*1P*	àndí	*we*
2S	nyí	*you*	*2P*	nàndí	*you*
3S	shí	*s/he*	*3P*	sàndí	*they*

Kanuri is a language which does not have grammatical gender. This is clear in the above paradigm since none of the personal pronouns carries inherent gender. Thus any pronoun may have either a male or a female referent. The third person pronouns may also have non-human referents, either animate or inanimate. The pronoun shí therefore corresponds to the English *s/he, it*.

2.1. Structure of the Personal Pronouns. All the personal pronouns have in common that they end with a high tone high vowel which is likely i in all persons and numbers, having been altered by the preceding consonant in the 1S form. The elements apparent in the plural pronouns which consistently distinguish them from the singular forms are the occurrence of the medial prenasalized +d+, and the low tone vowel a occuring in the initial syllable of each. The personal pronoun paradigm therefore represents one of the few paradigms of the language where these two elements are used paradigmatically to indicate plurality. As has been observed in ch. 2, these elements function elsewhere in the language to indicate the plural, e.g. in the finite verb form paradigm, though never as consistently as is apparent in the personal pronoun paradigm. The characteristic s of the 3S and 3P forms is consistent with all other grammatical paradigms of the language.

The 1P personal pronoun àndí will be heard from many speakers pronounced as àndé. The ending of this latter form clearly coincides with the characteristic 1P possessive ending +ndé. Some speakers from the Bama area seem to have in this way created an additional pronoun since for them the pronoun ə̀ndé functions as a dual pronoun meaning *we two, the two of us*, whereas the pronoun ə̀ndí stands for *we* when the referent is more than two people. This extension of the pronoun paradigm does not however represent a very widespread phenomenon.

2.2. Using the Personal Pronouns. The personal pronouns represent independent nominals in the language. They may occur alone, or marked by certain of the postpositions of the language, depending on the syntax of the environment in which they occur.

Shí sáwànyí.	*S/he is my friend.*
Nyí bàrèmá wá?	*Are you a farmer?*
Sàndí sháwà.	*They are beautiful.*
Shírò yíkìn.	*I will give it to him.*
Shílàn kúngənàà.	*He has got money.*
Shírò díkìn.	*I will do it for him.*

For semantic reasons, the independent personal pronouns can be marked by the determiner element +də́.

Shídə́ díwì.	*Him he is bad.*
Nàndídə́ ndâ?	*And what about you?*
Sàndídə́ lèzâiwâ.	*Them they are not going.*
Wúdə́ nòngə̂nyí.	*Me I don't know.*

The emphatic particle +má may be used to emphasize or contrast a personal pronoun. Thus marked, such a pronoun may constitute a complete utterance in certain contexts.

Shímá.	*It's him/her.; That's it.*
Shímá lèzô.	*S/HE went.*
Wúmá lěngîn.	*Even I am going.; I am going.*
Sàndímá.	*It's them.; They are the ones.*

The third person personal pronouns shí and sàndí may be used to designate or single out any noun referent in much the same way that in English one uses *the one/the ones*. In this role the third person pronouns may even occur as head nouns in relative clause constructions.

Shí kúràmádə́ kǎkkè.	*That one that is big is mine.*
Shídə́ kâm díwì.	*That one is a bad person.; or him/her*
sàndí nòngə́nàdə́ ...	*the ones that I know ...*
sàndí kúngə́nààdə́ ...	*the ones that have money ...*
Ádə̀má shí wò.	*That's the one that it is.; That's it.*

Because of the synthetic structure of the finite verb form in Kanuri, the independent personal pronouns do not carry the same functional load in the verbal sentences of the language that they do in other languages (see ch. 13). The finite verb form carries its subject pronoun and may also carry direct and indirect object pronouns internally. Therefore when these constituents are not explicitly mentioned through the use of a non-pronominal nominal, they are very often carried only in the finite verb form itself. In the following examples, the independent personal pronouns are not manifested in environments where they would be required in other languages.

Nzúrúkə̀nà.	*I saw you.*
Mákkàrò lèwónò.	*S/he went to Mecca.*
Lèfànzánà.	*They greet you.*
Mànàsə́gə́nà.	*S/he spoke to me.*
Rúkə́nà.	*I saw it.*
Lèfàtíyénà.	*We greeted each other.*
Lěngînbâ.	*I am not going.*
Fə́lésə́gə́nà.	*S/he showed it to me.*

In verbal sentences, pronoun subjects and objects are independently manifested only for semantic reasons, i.e. when they are being in some way emphasized, contrasted, or even questioned or negated. Therefore it is very often the case that when they do occur independently and apparently redundantly in some cases, they are in some way marked for the semantic function which they are fulfilling. When object pronouns for example occur independently outside of the finite verb form, they are normally marked by the associative postposition, except when already marked by the determiner +də́. These phenomena are explored and explained in detail in chapter 22.

Wúà kənáyè cítà	*I was stricken by hunger.*
Wúdə́ súrûnyí.	*Me he didn't see.*
Wúà nɔ̀ngə̂nyí.	*Me I don't know.*
Shíà cúrúkɔ̀.	*I saw him.*
Shí wá lèzô?	*Did HE go?*
Sàndí gə̂nyí lèzâ.	*THEY did not go.*

2.3. Pronouncing the Personal Pronouns. In rapid speech, Kanuri speakers often simplify the pronunciation of certain of the personal pronouns, in much the way that speakers of English make contractions. The following are the common variant pronunciations of certain of the pronouns. It is the third person forms which are most commonly altered in the ways indicated.

1S	-				*1P*	àndí	› [ằyí]	*we*
2S	-				*2P*	nàndí	› [nằyí]	*you*
3S	shí	› [yí]	*s/he, it*		*3P*	sàndí	› [sằyí]	*they*

The following are the common variant pronunciations of the personal pronouns as pronounced when marked by the associative postposition.

1S	wú+à	› [wâ]		*1P*	àndí+à	› [ằyâ]
2S	nyí+à	› [ɲâ]		*2P*	nàndí+à	› [nằyâ]
3S	shí+à	› [ʃâ] › [yâ]		*3P*	sàndí+à	› [sằyâ]

3. The Possessive Pronouns. When the reference of a given nominal is to a referent that is possessed by someone or something, either alienable or inalienably, then a possessive pronoun may be selected to represent the noun phrase referent. The possessive pronouns can be said to essentially represent the personal pronouns, when the personal pronouns are in a genitive relationship to a preceding head noun or to an anaphorically understood head noun. Pronominal possession in Kanuri, as in many other languages, is of two forms: 1) suffixed, or 2) independent. When the head noun of such a genitive noun phrase is expressed, then the suffixed form of the possessive pronoun is normally selected and applied directly to the head (possessed) noun. The suffixed forms of the possessive pronouns are shown in the following paradigm, both in citation form and as they are applied to the noun fə̂r *horse*.

1S	+nyí	fə̂rnyí	*my horse*	*1P*	+ndé	fə̂rndé	*our horse*
2S	+nə́m	fə̂rnə́m	*your horse*	*2P*	+ndô	fə̂rndô	*your horse*
3S	+nzə̂	fə̂rnzə̂	*his/her horse*	*3P*	+nzâ	fə̂rnzâ	*their horse*

When the head noun of such a genitive noun phrase is not expressed independently and is anaphorically understood in the utterance context, then the independent form of the possessive pronoun is normally selected to independently represent the entire noun phrase. These independent forms, like the personal pronouns, are independent nominals. The independent possessive pronouns are all trisyllabic derived nominals with the often characteristic trisyllabic tone pattern L-H-L. They are morphologically derived from the suffixed possessive pronouns through prefixation and tone alteration. For a complete description of the derivational relation between the suffixed and independent forms of the possessive pronouns see page 76. The independent possessive pronouns are presented here.

1S	kàkkê	*mine*	*1P*	kàándè	*ours*
2S	kàánə̀m	*yours*	*2P*	kàándò	*yours*
3S	kàánzə̀	*his/hers/its/that one's*	*3P*	kàánzà	*theirs*

3.1. The Morpheme Structure of the Possessive Pronouns. The morpheme structure of the possessive pronouns might be said to coincide more closely with the subject morpheme paradigm of the finite verb form than does that of the set of personal pronouns. The only suppletive change that occurs when the the suffixed possessive pronouns are compared paradigmatically to the independent forms is that of the 1S form where the suffixed +nyí corresponds to the independent kàkkê. One might have expected *kàányì to be the independent 1S form. In the independent 1S form, the person morpheme +k+ or +kk+ actually corresponds with the characteristic 1S subject morpheme of the finite verb paradigm (see p. 11. A nasal consonant n occurs in the pre-person morpheme position in each of the possessive pronouns of both paradigms, except for the suppletive 1S form of the independent paradigm. The sometimes plural morpheme +d+ distinguishes the plural pronouns only in the 1P and the 2P forms of both paradigms. The third person pronouns again carry the characteristic third person morpheme s, with the 3S being distinguished from the 3P by the sometimes plural morpheme +a+, again in both paradigms. The final vowels of the 1P and 2P possessive pronouns, +e and +o respectively, are very likely phonological reflexes of the subject morphemes +y+ and +w+ of the comparable 1P and 2P forms of the finite verb paradigm of subject pronouns morphemes.

3.2. Using the Suffixed and Independent Possessive Pronouns. In a simple genitive noun phrase expressing possession, there are two basic noun phrase positions, i.e. that of the head and that of the genitive marked modifier. The head represents the item possessed and the genitive modifier, the possessor or owner, as in: fə̂r Músàbè *Musa's horse*. When either or both of the noun phrase positions are pronominalized, then the possesive pronouns are used. If only the possessor is pronominalized, then the possessive pronoun suffix is applied to the head noun giving: fə̂rnzə́ *his horse*. If both possessor and head are pronominalized, then the corresponding independent possessive pronoun is used to represent the entire genitive noun phrase, as in: kàánzə̀ *his*. The following examples show some of the uses of both the suffixed and the independent possessive pronouns.

Ádə̀ fə̂rnyí.	*This is my horse.*
Ádə̀ kàkkê	*This is mine.*
Túdù kúngə́nànzə́.	*That is his/her money.*
Túdù kàánzə̀.	*That is his.*
Kúlòndé kúrà.	*Our field is big.*
Kàándè kúrà.	*Ours is big.*
Kúngə́nànzá bâ.	*They don't have any money.*
Kàánzà bâ.	*They don't have one.*
Kàzə́mùndé sámmá kàdáwùà.	*All our clothes are dirty.*
Kàándè sámmá kàdáwùà.	*All of ours are dirty.*
Kórónə́m rúkə̀nyí.	*I haven't seen your donkey.*
Kàánə̀m rúkə̀nyí.	*I haven't seen yours.*

It was shown above in 2.2 that the personal pronouns may be marked by the determiner +də́, the emphasis marker +má, and by the postpositions, for various syntactic and semantic reasons. Similarly, noun phrases in which either the suffixed or the independent possessive pronouns occur, may be marked in this way, as shown in the following examples.

Fə̄rnzə́má rúkə̀nyí.	*I didn't even see his/her horse.*
Kàánzə̀má rúkə̀nyí.	*I didn't even see his/hers.*
Fə̄rnzə́də́ sháwà gə̀nyí.	*That horse of his is not beautiful.*
Kàánzə̀də́ sháwà gə̀nyí.	*That one of his is not beautiful.*
Njênzárò njî fígə̀né.	*Pour water into their pot.*
Kàánzàrò njî fígə̀né.	*Pour water into theirs.*
Fə̄rndó ádə̀gái ngə́wù bá.	*There aren't many like this your horse.*
Kàándògái ngə́wù bá.	*There aren't many like yours.*
Ádə̀ fə̄rnə́m wá?	*Is this your horse?*
Ádə̀ kàánə̀m wá?	*Is this yours?*

3.2.1. The Suffixed Possessive Pronouns After the Word fátò *house*. When the suffixed possessives are applied to the noun fátò meaning *house*, it is phonologically contracted from fátò to fân+. This variant form of the word fátò only occurs in this environment which is very frequently used.

1S	*fátò+nyí	›fânnyí	*my house*	*1P*	*fátò+ndé	›fânndé	*our house*
2S	*fátò+nə́m	›fânnə́m	*your house*	*2P*	*fátò+ndó	›fânndó	*your house*
3S	*fátò+nzə́	›fânnzə́	*his/her house*	*3P*	*fátò+nzá	›fânnzá	*their house*

3.2.2. The Independent Possessive Pronouns as Modifiers of a Head Noun. Under certain circumstances, the independent possessives may be used as modifiers of a preceding head noun. They are used in this role in place of the suffixed possessives only when one is distinguishing, differentiating, or somehow emphasizing a given object and/or its possessor. Thus for semantic reasons the possessive pronouns may be adapted to the modifier role.

Fə̄r kàánzə̀də́ sháwà.	*HIS horse is beautiful.*
Fə̄r kàánzə̀də́má sháwà wò.	*It is HIS horse that is most beautiful.*
Ádə̀ fátò kàánzà.	*This is THEIR house.*

When the independent possessives occur in this modifier role, the structure of the noun phrase may lend itself to interpretation as a relative clause construction, with expressed or anaphorically understood head.

Fə̄r kàánzə̀də́ sháwà.	*The horse that is his/hers is pretty.*
Shí kàkkêmádə́ ná ádə̀làn bá.	*The one that is mine is not here.*
Kàánə̀mmádə́ rúkə̀nyí.	*I haven't seen the one that is yours.*

3.3. Expressions of Opinion Derived from the Independent Possessive Pronouns. There exists a rather obscure paradigm of pronoun-like derived forms which when used may express one's characteristic way of doing things, or one's outlook, opinion, or attitude. These derived forms are formed from the independent possessive pronouns through the suffixation of the high tone suffix +wú. The application of this suffix entails the alteration of the tone of the independent possessive to which it is applied. The resulting derived forms all bear the characteristic abstract L$_o$H tone pattern. The original source of this suffix is unknown.

1S	kàkkèwú	*in my opinion*	*1P*	kààndèwú	*in our opinion*
2S	kàànə̀mwú	*in your opinion*	*2P*	kààndòwú	*in your opinion*
3S	kàànzə̀wú	*in his/her opinion*	*3P*	kàànzàwú	*in their opinion*

These derived forms may be used as in the following examples.

Kàànzə̀wú gákìnbá.	*I will not go along with his opinion.*
Kààndèwú gái.	*Go along with our point of view.*
Àbí yàyé dímíà ngə́là, kàànzàwúdə́à.	*Whatever you do is good, according to them.*

4. The Demonstratives as Pronouns. When the referent to which a noun phrase refers is a visible or demonstrable object, reference to it may

be made through the use of a demonstrative, either as a pronoun replacing the entire noun phrase, or as a modifier of the noun phrase. This type of reference is often accompanied by a physical indication of the object by pointing or gesturing. As their name implies, demonstratives are used in their most basic role for this purpose of showing, indicating, or demonstrating. The Kanuri demonstratives in this physically real use, in almost exactly the way that their English counterparts function, are used to distinguish the position of the object with regard to distance from the speaker, thus distinguishing a referent that is near from a referent that is relatively further away from the speaker. As in English, both demonstratives have a singu[illegible]nd a plural form.

	singular		*plural*	
near referent	ádə̀	*this*	ányì	*these*
far referent	túdù	*that*	tûnyì	*those*

Like their English counterparts, the Kanuri demonstratives may be used either as independent demonstrative pronouns, or, dependent on a preceding nominal, as modifying determiners, as in the following examples.

Ádə̀/ányì kàkkê.	*This is/these are mine.*
Túdù/tûnyì kàánəm.	*That is/those are mine.*
Fə̂r ádə̀ dôi.	*This horse is fast.*
Fə̂r túdù dôi gə̀nyí.	*That horse is not fast.*
Fèròwá ányì lèzâiwâ.	*These girls are not going.*
Âm tûnyì díwì.	*Those people are bad.*

Thus in Kanuri, as in English and many other languages, one set of demonstratives functions as the independent demonstrative pronouns, and also as the demonstrative determiners. In both roles, demonstratives serve to specify and to set off their noun phrase, whether it be manifested or anaphorically understood. The role played by the demonstratives as determiners of the noun phrase is discussed in detail in ch. 21. There the most commonly occurring determiner +də́, is also introduced and discussed in relation to the demonstratives as determiners.

4.1. The Anaphoric Use of the Demonstratives as Pronouns. As is the case in many languages, also in Kanuri the near/far distinction made by the demonstratives may be extended in use from the literal physical sense to a more abstract or metaphoric sense of reference to the more immediate or recently mentioned referent in time, as opposed to the more remote or earlier mentioned referent in time. This may be referred to as the *anaphoric* use of the demonstratives as pronouns, through which they recall or identify a noun phrase or other sentence material which is commonly understood and thus easily recognizable to speaker and hearer in the utterance context. In contrast, their use to physically identify something most often in introducing it for the first time may be described as the *deictic* use of the demonstratives as pronouns.

In anaphoric usage, it is most often the case that the singular forms of the demonstratives are used, regardless of the number of the noun phrase being recalled. Unless it is a case of e.g. *the former* and *the latter* being contrasted (in which case túdù and ádə̀ respectively might be used anaphorically), then it is generally true that the near form of the singular demonstrative ádə̀ is preferred in discourse to correspond to the anaphoric uses of both of the English demonstratives *this* and *that*. In this role, anaphoric reference may be made not only to a previously mentioned or understood noun phrase, but also to an entire idea or situation.

Túdùmádə́ zâu yé kùrwówù ye; ádə̀mádə́ bútù yé kə̀skê ye.	*That one was difficult and burdensome;* *this one is easy and unimportant.*

Ádə̀làn dùwô cìwàndə́kò.	*Only with/after that did I find it.*
Ádə̀gái.	*That's right./That's how it is.*
Ádə̀má shí wò.	*That's it./That is the one.*
Ádə̀má.	*That's it.*
Ádə̀à, wú lĕngînbá.	*If that is the case/given that, I won't g*
Ádə̀gái dùwô yîm láá bàwòwónò.	*It was like that though until one day he died.*

The role of the demonstratives in these and other anaphoric uses will be referred to and elaborated upon at various points in this work, among the most important are those that deal with the structure of the noun phrase and the status marking of the noun phrase. References to these uses occur throughout section VI, in chapters 19 through 26.

5. The Interrogative Pronouns. It was proposed earlier (see pp. 35-7) that the lexical category *adverb* does not exist in Kanuri, since all lexical items which function as adverbs are in fact nouns. Other adverbials are nouns marked by postpositions. These same observations can be applied to the interrogatives. The category *interrogative adverb* does not exist in Kanuri. Constituents performing this function are simply interrogative pronouns marked by one of the oblique postpositions of the language. For example, the Kanuri equivalent of *why?, for what?* is àbírò, made up of the interrogative pronoun àbí? *what?*, to which the indirect postposition +rò has been applied. For each of the interrogative pronouns presented below, any interrogative adverbials derived from them through the application of the postpositions are presented together with them.

ndú?	*who?*
Ádə̀ ndú?	*Who is that?*
Ndú rûm?	*WHO did you see?*
Ndúsò ísánà?	*Who all has come?*
Ádə̀ ndúbè?	*Whose is this?*
Ndúbèrò lèyâm?	*To whose house did you go?*
Ndúrò yímìn?	*To whom will you give it?*

àbí?	*what?*
Ádə̀ àbí?	*What is this?*
Àbí ádə̀?	*may = What is going on?*
Àbí wò?	*What is it?*
Àbí cídə̀m?	*What did you do?*
Àbírò cídə̀m?	*Why/for what did you do it?*
Àbí nànkàrò?	*Because why?*
Àbísò cídə̀m?	*What all did you do?*

ndásò?/x ndásò?	*which one?/which x?*
Ndásò kàánə̀m?	*Which one is yours?*
Fátò ndásò cìlàdə̂m?	*Which house did you sell?*
Ndásònzá cìlàdə̂m?	*Which one of them did you sell?*
Ndásòrò lèyâm?	*To which one did you go?*

x+bí?	*which x? (less frequent than* x ndásò?*)*
Fátòbí làdə́mìn?	*Which house are you selling?*

sàbí?/sàmbí?	*when?, which time?*
yìmbí?/lóktùbí?/hóktùbí?/wóktùbí?	*when?, which time? (less frequently)*
Sàbí kádìm?	*When did you get here/come?*
Sàmbí íshìn?	*When is he coming?*

fútùbîn?/də́lwùbîn? = àbíàbîn?	*how?, in what way?, by which method?*
Fútùbîn cídə̂m?	*How did you do it?*
Àbíàbîn tə̀dîn?	*How can it be done?*

ndàwú?/x ndàwú?	*how much? how many?/how many x?*
Sàndí ndàwú?	*How many are they?*
Ndàwûn tàiyádà?	*How much did they offer? (first offer)*
Ndàwúrò káiwùm?	*For how much did you buy it?*
Fə̂r ndàwú nânzə̂n?	*How many horses are at his place/ does he have?*
ndâ?	*what about? where is? how is?*
Músà ndâ?	*Where is Musa?/ And what about Musa?*
Ndâ Músà?	*How is Musa?*
Ndâ wàtə́?	*Good morning./How was the night?*
Ndâ də́bdò?	*Good afternoon/evening./How was the day?*
Ndâ shí?	*Where is it/he/she?*
ndân?	*where (at/in)?/ where from?* = ndárân?
Sàndí ndân?	*Where are they?*
Ndân kádìm?	*Where are you coming from?*
ndárá *(may ‹*ndâ+rò)*/ndárárò	
Ndárá lènə́mìn?	
Ndárárò lènə́mìn?	
ndárân?	*where from?*
Ndárân kádìm?	*Where are you coming from?*
Ngâmá?	*But why?*

6. Indefinite Pronouns Derived from the Interrogative Pronouns. In English the indefinite pronoun *whoever* is clearly derived from the interrogative pronoun *who*. Similarly in Kanuri, pronouns of this type and many more are derived from the interrogative pronouns and the derived interrogative adverbials. The generic suffix +só and the indefinite/concessive yàyé are applied very productively to the interrogative pronouns to produce the indefinite pronouns. The comparable negative indefinite pronouns are normally formed through the affixation to the interrogative pronoun of the emphasis marker +má and take on this role in negative environments. In the following example sets, the indefinite pronouns are presented in the same order in which the interrogative pronouns were presented in section 5 above.

Ndúsó ísə́nà.	*Everyone has arrived.*
Ndú-à ndú-ànàasó cídànzə́ sə̀dô.	*Each and every person did his job.*
Ndú yàyé súríà súwórə́.	*He should ask whoever/no matter who he sees.*
Ndúmá fânzə́rò íshìnbâ.	*No one comes to his house.*
Àbísó sə̀dîn.	*S/he does everything.*
Fânzân àbí-à àbí-ànàasó fàndə́mìn.	*You will find each and every thing in his house.*
Àbí yàyé kál; shé.	*Whatever/no matter what it is; give it to me.*
Àbímá nânzə̂n bâ.	*He has nothing at all.*
Àbírò yàyé shíà kùrûrò wáwòkò.	*No matter why I don't want to see him.*
àbísórò	*for everything*
àbí yàyérò	*for no matter what/whatever*
àbímárò *(+neg)*	*for nothing*
Ndásòsó kàánə̀m.	*Every one (of them) is yours.*
Fátò ndásòsó Álìyè gárzə́nà.	*Every house was built by Ali.*
Ndásò yàyé ràámmà njíkìn.	*Whichever one you want I will give you.*
Fə̂r ndásò yàyérò zə̀wâi.	*He will ride no matter what horse/ any horse.*

Ndásòmá búkìnbâ.	*I won't eat either one/any (of them).*
Fə̂rnzə́ ndásòmá sháwà gə̀nyí.	*Not one/none of his horses is pretty.*
Ndásònzámá báwò.	*Neither/none of them is there.*
Kâmbísô hêr májìn.	*Every person is looking for peace.*
Tádàbí yàyé íshíà wú bî gùllé.	*No matter which/whichever child comes say that I am not here.*
àwóbí yàyé	*whatever thing*
Fə̂rbímárò ráksə̀ zə̀wâiwâ.	*He cannot ride any horse.*
Sàbísó shíà kàsúwùlàn rúkìn.	*I always see him in the market.*
Sàbí yàyé ísə́míà wúà fàndə́mìn.	*Whenever/no matter when you come you will meet me.*
Sàmbísôn wúà shìwòljîn.	*He bothers me all the time.*
Sàmbîn yàyé kál.	*No matter when/whenever.*
sàbísórò	*for always/forever*
Sàmbímân nânzə́rò lə̃ngînbâ.	*I will never (ever) go to his place.*
Sàbísọn túrúiyèn.	*We see each other all the time/ always/regularly.*
Fútùbísôn sə̀də̂ dùwô tìyèrô.	*He tried it in every way but failed.*
Fútùbîn yàyé kál, ísə́kìn.	*It does not matter how, I will come.*
Fútùbímân mòwònjînbâ.	*It is in no way possible.*
àbíàbîn yàyé	*no matter how*
Sàndí ndàwú yàyé fálnzá wòsórò súlè súlè yé.	*However many/no matter how many they are give a shilling to each one.*
Ndàwú yàyérò yíwùkìnbâ.	*I won't buy it for no matter how much.*
Ndâsó kúngə́nàà.	*There is money everywhere.*
Ndâ yàyé kál.	*No matter where/anywhere is fine.*
Ndân yàyé, máné.	*It does not matter where, look for it.*
Ndâmân sàndíà rúkə̀nyí.	*I didn't see them anywhere.*
Ndárásórò lèjîn.	*S/He is going everywhere.*
Ndárá-à ndárá-ànàasórò lèyádà.	*They went to each and every place.*
Ndárá yàyé(rò) lə̃ngîn.	*I will go anywhere/no matter where.*
Ndárámá(rò) lèzə̂nyí.	*S/He has not gone anywhere.*
Ndárásôn njîà.	*It's raining/there is water everywhere.*
Ndárân yàyé cìdə̃ngîn.	*I will work anywhere.*
Ndárámân shíà fàndə́kə̀nyí.	*I didn't find him anywhere.*
ngâsó	*all*

CHAPTER 8: WORDS FORMED THROUGH PRODUCTIVE AFFIXATION

1. Introduction. The words discussed in this chapter are formed through the application of the various synchronically productive affixes of the language, i.e. prefixes and suffixes. For the most part, the affixes described here are representative of processes that still have widespread application in the language (the no longer productive affixes are treated in ch. 10). As is apparent, many of the suffixes described carry a fixed tone and often alter the tone pattern of the root or word to which they are applied.

2. Abstract Nouns with the Prefix nə̀m+ (less often kə̀r+). The prefix nə̀m+ is very productively used in synchronic Kanuri to form abstract nouns, often describing a state, usually from lexical nouns and adjectives. Semantically, abstract nouns formed through nə̀m+ prefixation carry meanings comparable to their English counterparts ending in suffixes like: *+ness, +hood, +ship*, etc. On the very limited number of words which take kə̀r+ as a prefix, all of which are nouns, the meaning of the resulting abstract nominal is for all practical purposes identical to that which would be derived through the prefix nə̀m+, though the latter is rarely used in place of kə̀r+ in such cases.

It is likely that the prefix kə̀r+ is related to the no longer productive k-prefixation process (see ch. 10). There is also evidence that certain of the k-prefixed forms of class 1 verbal nouns are formed through the prefixation of kə̀r+, as in kə́rmù *death, dying*. The following however, are the only attested abstract nouns derived through kə̀r+ prefixation.

mâi	*king*	kə̀rmâi	*kingship, reign*
mâlə̀m	*malam, teacher*	kə̀rmâlə̀m	*state of being malam*
mə́sə̀lə̀m	*muslim*	kə̀rmə́sə̀lə̀m	*islam*

The prefix nə̀m+ is clearly related both morphologically and semantically to the abstract nominal prefix n+ (see p. 81) which is no longer productive in the language. For certain abstract nouns, some speakers may use the nə̀m+ prefixed forms and the n+ prefixed forms interchangeably. With regard to tone, whereas the prefix n+ carries a high tone with it in its application, the prefix nə̀m+ is always low tone, and does not alter the tone pattern of the noun or adjective to which it is applied.

bâ	*there is not*	nə̀mbâ	*absence, lack*
bárwù	*thief*	nə̀mbárwù	*theft, thievery*
bútù	*cheap*	nə̀mbútù	*cheapness*
cárì	*old*	nə̀mcárì	*old age*
cîbbù	*hard*	nə̀mcîbbù	*hardness*
díwì	*bad*	nə̀mdíwì	*badness*
dôi	*quick*	nə̀mdôi	*quickness, speed*
dóndì	*sick*	nə̀mdóndì	*being sick*
gálìwù	*rich*	nə̀mgálìwù	*wealth*
gàná	*small*	nə̀mgàná	*smallness*
kàfúwù	*short*	nə̀mkàfúwù	*shortness*
kâm	*person*	nə̀mkâm	*relation, friendship*
kə̀jî	*sweet, good*	nə́jì, nə̀mkə̀jî	*sweetness, goodness*
kə́rdì	*non-muslim*	nə́rdì, nə̀mkə́rdì	*being non-muslim*
kúrà	*big*	nə̀mkúrà	*size, bigness*
kùrúwù	*long*	nə̀mkùrúwù	*length*
kùrwówù	*heavy*	nə̀mkùrwówù	*weight, being heavy*
kùsótò	*guest, stranger*	nə̀mkùsótò	*being guest, stranger*
lágə̀	*worthless*	nə̀mlágə̀	*worthlessness*
ngə́là	*good*	nə̀mngə́là	*goodness*

ngə́nyì	*orphan*	nə̀mngə́nyì	*being an orphan*
ngə́wù	*a lot, many*	nə̀mngə́wù	*quantity, being a lot*
sáwà	*friend*	nə̀msáwà	*friendship*
sə́lə́m	*black*	nə̀msə́lə́m	*blackness*
sháwà	*beautiful*	nə̀msháwà	*beauty*
zòlí	*crazy, insane, mad*	nə̀mzòlí	*madness, insanity*

3. The Suffix +lá. The suffix +lá is most often applied to nominals including nouns, verbal nouns, and adverbial nouns, usually to form a nominal 'of' or 'characteristic of' the nominal to which it is applied. Words derived through the application of this high tone suffix all carry the L_oH tone pattern.

bútù	*cheap*	bùtùlá	*sth cheap*
césà	*sand*	cèsàlá	*cassava of sandy soil*
cíptə́	*lancing (a wound)*	cìptə̀lá	*sth lanced*
dâtə̀	*height*	dàtə̀lá	*lengthwise*
dégə́	*four*	dègə̀lá	*foursome*
dóndì	*sick*	dòndìlá	*often sick person*
dúwàr	*early afternoon*	dùwàrlá	*early afternoon meal*
fátò	*house*	fàtòlá	*sth of the house*
kàfê	*bare ground*	kàfèlá	*clear bare area*
kàì+	*skin, peel*	kàilá	*rope-like peeled tree bark*
kàkàtə́	*cluck*	kàkàtə̀rá	*hen in egg-laying stage*
kàsúwù	*market*	kàsùwùlá	*market place*
káwàr	*grave*	kàwàrlá	*graveyard*
kə̀lânzə́	*his/her head*	kə̀lànzə̀lá	*sth done for o.s.*
mâi	*king*	màilá	*sth of the king*
ngə́bdò	*garbage*	ngə̀bdòlá	*garbage heap*
sálà	*prayer*	sàlàlá	*gifts among musicians*
sàmtə́	*distributing, giving out*	sàmtə̀lá	*sth given out*
shítì	*side, ribs*	shìtìlá	*on one's side*
tə́wə̀r	*thick*	tə̀wə̀rlá	*dense, crowded together*

4. The Suffix +ma. The nominalizing suffix +ma can generally be said to form animate (often human) nouns, which are semantically characterized by the noun to which the suffix is applied. In this way a great variety of nouns expressing agency of an action, ownership, and occupation are formed both from lexical nouns and from verbal nouns.

With regard to tone, there seems to be considerable variation among Kanuri speakers. Some of the variation in acceptable tone patterns is a result of the interplay of tone changing morphological processes with the suffixation of +ma. The tone of the suffix nevertheless is not fixed and changes in relation to the tone pattern of the word to which it is affixed. In general (cf Lukas, 1937: 9-11) the suffix takes a low tone and does not alter the tone of the word to which it is affixed when that word ends in a high tone. Elsewhere, after the H-L tone sequences represented in the sequences H-L, R-L, and F, the suffix takes a high tone and all that precedes it takes low tone, yielding L_oH. It should be remembered that this latter L_oH tone pattern is typical of the more abstract nominals derived through tone change, and also of nominals derived through compounding.

The plural of nominals in +ma is formed through the replacement of +ma with +wu, on the same tone.

When derived from a verbal noun, the nominal refers to the person who does or typically does the action of the verbal noun.

All nominals in +ma may also function in a modifying role, following a noun. In this role they are still basically nouns but occur appositively to elaborate the head noun. Many people's names are derived in this way when the +ma nominal contains the name of a village.

àdîn	*religion*	àdìnmá	*devout person*
àlîn	*indigo*	àlînmà	*dyer*
àmân	*confidence*	àmànmá	*confidant*
bàrà	*hunting*	bàràmà	*hunter*
bárè	*farming*	bàrèmá	*farmer*
bə́jì	*mat*	bə̀jìmá	*matmaker*
bù	*eating*	bùmà	*inheritance recipient*
cárà	*black (animals)*	càràmá	*blackbird*
cèlé	*grilled meat*	cèlémà	*meat seller*
cî	*mouth*	cìmá	*ambassador*
cîà	*with mouth, door*	cìàmá	*doorman*
cídà	*work*	cìdàmá	*worker*
cìtə́	*getting up, leaving*	cìtə́mà	*one leaving, leaver*
còlló	*urine*	còllómà	*bedwetter*
dálà *name*	béwò *axe*	dálà béwómà	*praying mantis*
dálà *name*	bə́lə̀m *porridge*	dálà bə́lə́mmà	*evening star*
dìò	*doing*	dìòmà	*doer, agent*
fátké	*petty trading*	fátkémà	*petty merchant*
fátò	*house, home*	fàtòmá fátómà	*house owner* *spouse*
férò	*girl*	fèròmá	*parent of daughters*
fə̀rèl	*?*	fə̀rèlmá	*thunder*
fìtìfítí	*scurrying around*	fìtìfítímà	*conjurer*
fómnó	*walk, stroll*	fómnómà	*restless person*
fòmtà, fómtə́	*walking, strolling*	fòmtàmà, fómtə́mà	*restless person*
gàlgál	*deceipt*	gàlgálmà	*type of ant*
gàngá	*drum*	gàngámà	*drummer*
gàngâu	*untanned skin*	gàngâumà	*skin merchant*
gə̀ndé	*highway robbery*	gə̀ndémà	*highway robber*
gə̀ré	*chew it!*	Gə̀rémà	*title/name*
gə́régə̀rè	*snack*	gə́régə̀rèmà	*snacker*
gùl+	*say*	gùlmà	*troublemaking gossip*
hàlàngnó	*prostitution*	hàlàngnómà	*prostitute*
jírè	*truth*	jìrèmá	*honest person*
kágə́l	*anvil*	kágə́lmà	*smith*
kàngê	*fever*	kàngèmá	*one often feverish*
kárá	*sorcery*	kárámà	*witch*
kǎrwà	*wind, insanity*	kàrwàmá	*periodically mad person*
kàsúwù	*market*	kàsùwùmá	*market merchant*
kàttî	*earth*	kàttìmá	*mudbrick mason*
kàttúwù	*lie*	kàttùwùmá	*liar*
kə̀lâ	*head*	kə̀làmá	*peer, age-mate*
kə̀mbû	*eating, food*	kə̀mbùmá	*big eater, gourmand*
kə̀nə̀m	*sleep*	kə̀nə̀mmá	*often sleepy person*
kə̀njô	*giving*	kə̀njòmá	*giver, provider*
kə̀ràlkə̀ràl	*crunching noise*	kə̀ràlkə̀ràlmà	*chewable bones*
kúllò	*brass*	kúllòmà	*brass-smith*
kùlúwù	*lake, pond*	gàjí kùlùwùmá	*tadpole*
kùngórí	*asking, request*	kùngórímà	*one who asks*
kùrû	*seeing*	kùrùmá	*overseer*
làdǒ	*selling*	làdòmà	*seller*
làshá	*evening prayer/meal*	làshámà	*evening meal partner*
lètə́	*going*	lètə́mà lètə̀má	*one going, traveler* *good walker*
lìntá	*persistence*	lìntàmá	*obnoxious go-getter*

mâi *king*	Màdzínà *Machina*	Mâi Màdzínámà	*King of Machina*
mâiyò	*water selling*	màiyòmá	*water seller*
máná	*talk, speech*	mànàmá	*complainant, speaker*
		mánámà	*professional talker*
mə̂lì	*dung*	mə̂límà	*stable boy*
njî	*water*	njìmá	*water merchant*
njò	*giving*	njòmà	*giver*
nzàsà	*repairing*	nzàsàmà	*repairman, mechanic*
nzə̀lìwò	*protecting*	nzə̀lìwòmà	*protector*
nzòrdò	*accompanying*	nzòrdòmà	*escort*
nzúndù	*technique, idea*	nzùndùmá	*ingenious person*
sáá+	*weave*	sáámà	*weaver*
shíshì	*curious investigation*	shìshìmá	*nosy person*
wátə́	*disliking, not wanting*	wátəmà	*one who dislikes sth*
		wàtə̀má	*enemy*

5. The Nominal Suffix +mì. In its most basic and productive use the low tone suffix +mì may be applied to any proper human noun to form a nominal meaning 'the son of' the person to whose name it is affixed. In this way it may be used to derive the names of male offspring, using as a base either the name of the father or the mother.

Àisâ	Àisâmì	*son of Aisa*
Músà	Músàmì	*son of Musa*
Ûmàr	Ûmàrmì	*son of Umar*
Yâ gàná, Yâaná	Yâanámì	*son of Yaana*

As is clear in the above examples, the suffix retains its tone and does not alter the tone pattern of the name to which it is affixed.

5.1. The Suffix +mì in Ordinal Number Formation. The low tone suffix +mì is applied to the cardinal numbers in the derivation of the ordinal numbers. It is likely that this is the same suffix, the basic use of which was described above. The high tone prefix +kə́n is also involved in ordinal number formation.

tìló	*one*	kə́ntílómì	*the first*
ìndí	*two*	kə́níndímì	*the second*
yàkkə́	*three*	kə́nyákkə̀mì	*the third*

5.2. The Suffix +mi in Other Derived Nominals. The occurrence of this suffix in uses other than those described in 5 and 5.1 represents an extension of its basic diminutive and relational characteristics. In the words presented here, the suffix bears a high tone, and often occurs in nominals which bear the characteristic semantically abstract tone pattern L_oH. In derivation, it is likely that a two stage process is involved, with the low tone suffix +mì first being applied to the stem without tone change, followed by the tone change to the L_oH pattern characteristic of derived nominals with meanings that are abstract in relation to their non-derived meanings. Some of the following examples have no obvious source.

górgór	*short, stocky, sturdy*	gòrgòrmí	*bull/male leader of animal herd*
jórò	*swing, seesaw*	jòròjòròmí	*long-tailed lizard*
kálì	*pus*	kàlìmí	*pus*
kámú	*woman, wife*	kàmùmí	*effeminate male*
kə̂rdì	*non-muslim, pagan*	kə̀rdìmí	*typically pagan; wild variety of animal species*
kóró	*donkey*	kòròmí	*water buck*

kúrà	*big, important*	kùràmí	*pride*
másàr	*corn, maize*	másàrmí	*corn, maize*
-		də̀rwùlìmí	*dung beetle*

6. The Suffix +nó in the Formation of Nominals. The use of the suffix +nó in nominal formation represents a very productive process in the language. The suffix is applied to stems which function as class 2 verb roots. In general, nominals derived in this way can be said to describe the end result or final product of the action of the verb stem involved. Class 1 verb roots never occur in nominals derived in this way.

With regard to tone, +nó is a high tone suffix in many cases appears to lower the tone of the stem to which it is applied producing the L_oH pattern. When this suffix is applied to a stem-final l, the assimilation of +nó to +ló is reflected in the orthography.

àdàr+	*witness, bear witness*	àdàrnó	*official message of death*
bák+	*beat, hit*	bàngnó	*sth beaten*
cècé+	*drain, trickle off*	cècènó	*water gather hole in riverbed*
cící+	*smoke/burn incense*	cìcìnó	*smoky insect-warding off fire*
cíp+	*lance, prick*	címó	*porcupine*
dà+	*stop, stand*	dànó	*showstopper; superior person*
dáwár+	*prepare*	dàwàrnó	*sth prepared*
dé+	*cook, boil*	dènó	*cloth boiled after dying*
də̀gár+	*gin, comb out, card*	də̀gàrnó	*balding of women*
də́rí+	*go around, avoid*	də̀rìnó	*sth to avoid/go around*
fér+	*unfold, lay out, spread*	fèrnó	*building foundation*
fə̀k+	*empty/pour out*		
II	*pour out/copy onto*	fə̀ktə̀gə̀nó	*copy, sth copied*
fə́rá+	*sweep up*	fə̀rànó	*swept waste; clean sweep arrest*
fìn+	*boil, foam over*	fìnnó	*gonorrhea-like venereal disease*
fù+	*blow*	fùnó	*sth blown or swollen up*
fú+	*swell*	fùfùnó	*elephantiasis; sickly weakness*
gàp+	*remain, stay*	gàpcùwùnó/gàptə̀gə̀nó	*remainder, leftovers*
gə̀ná+	*place, put*	gə̀nànó	*sth saved or put aside*
gə́r+	*drag along ground*	gə̀rnó	*grass on branch after dragging*
gə̀wúr+	*pound in mortar*	gə̀wùrnó	*pounded product*
gòtà	*taking* gó+ *take*	gòtànó	*1st wife; load carried for pay*
hálák+	*turn or flip over*	hàlàngnó	*prostitution*
kár+	*choose, select*	kàrnó	*sth selected*
		kárnó	*election*
kásár+	*buy bit by bit*	kàsàrnó	*summary*
kèké+	= cècé	kèkènó	= cècènó
kə́lí	*roll or fold up*	kə̀lìnó	*sth rolled up; sth rounded up*
kə́mə́s+	*knead, squeeze*	kə̀mə̀sə̀nó	*sth crushed into powder*
kə́ré+	*sort out, select*	kə̀rènó	*selection, cream of the crop*
kók+	*plant, stick in*	kòngnó	*sth planted or stuck in*
kókór+/kórkór+	*turn, rotate, spin*	kòrkòrnó	*round living area*
kúlás+	*search for*	kùlàsə̀nó	*sth found through searching*
kúr+	*draw, mark, trace*	kùrnó	*design, drawing*
làn+	*insult*	lànnó	*insult*
láwú+	*pick, pluck; bunch, gather*	làwùnó	*sth left after picking out best*
lé+	*touch*	lèlènó	*a disease*
mút+	*press and knead*	mùnnó	*sth kneaded by hand*
náp+	*sit down, stay*	nàpcùwùnó	*uninvited guest*
ndál+	*steal*	ndállló	*theft*
njílók+	*break or chip off*	njìlòngnó	*remainder after breaking off sth*
nzə́t+	*squeeze or wring out*	nzə̀nnó	*sth squeezed or wrung out*
nzók+	*pluck, pick, cut off*	nzòngnó	*sth cut or picked off*

ré+	*split, divide halve*	rèrènó	*splittings*
sàm+	*distribute*	sàmnó	*sth distributed*
sáp+	*collect, gather*	sámnó	*gathering, meeting*
		sàsàpnó/sàpsàpnó	*collection*
shîl+	*peel, skin*	shílló	*inside kernel of palm fruit*
shìshì+	*investigate*	shìshìnó	*research, investigation*
táp+	*pour out, cast*	tàpnó/tàmnó	*sth re-shaped by melting*
tòl+	*drip, leak*	tòlló	*drips from roof leak*
tùská+	*mix*	tùskànó	*mixture*
wá+	*dislike*	wánó	*rejected one of a group*
yǒk+	*drive, herd*	yǒngnó	*animal group split off from herd and driven e.g. to market*
zá+	*stab, beat, tap*	zànó	*cattle disease originally believed caused by poison dart*

7. The Suffix +ram. In its most basic and consistent use (and perhaps its original use) the suffix +ràm is used in kinship terminology and naming, and represents the female counterpart of the suffix +mì (see p. 58). In this use it is applied to proper nouns and other human nouns to indicate *daughter of*, in relation to the noun to which it is suffixed. It may be used to derive the names of female offspring, using the name or title of the father (more often than that of the mother) as the base.

mâi	*king*	mâiràm	*princess*
Músà	*Musa*	Músàràm	*daughter of Musa*
bə́làmà	*village head*	bə́làmàràm	*daughter of village head*

Nominals derived in this way may be used independently either as names like proper nouns, or for the purpose of identification to describe or distinguish perhaps a child. They may also occur in noun modifier position as an originally appositive modifier of a proper noun indicating someone's given first name, thus Fánnà Músàràm *Fanna daughter of Musa*. Subsequently, either the independent head noun or the nominal in the modifier position may be used to designate the girl in question. This modifier use is similar to the use of nominals formed through the suffixation of +mà to describe and modify (see p. 56).

As is clear in the above examples, in this basic use the suffix retains its tone and does not alter the tone pattern of the noun to which it is affixed.

7.1. The Suffix +ram in Instrumental and Locative Nominals. When applied to other kinds of nouns and to verbal nouns, the suffix +ram plays an important role in the formation of nominals describing instruments, places, and other nominals less directly related to their formative stem. All nominals described here bear some abstract relation to the noun or verbal noun to which the suffix is applied, and can be said to represent extensions of the basic *daughter of* relation between noun and derived nominal described above in 7. It is likely that an extension of this filial relationship results in the derivation of the names of certain body parts included in the following examples. There the suffix is applied to nouns and even to onomatopoetic stems describing something typical of that area of the body, and the derived nominal becoming the noun describing that body part.

As was observed above with regard to the suffix +ma, here also there seems to be considerable variation among Kanuri speakers with regard to the tone pattern of these derived nominals. Some of the variation in acceptable tone patterns is probably due to the interplay of tone-changing morphological processes with the suffixation of +ram. The tone of the suffix nevertheless is not fixed and changes in relation to the tone pattern of the word to which it is affixed. In general (cf Lukas, 1937: 11-12) the suffix is low tone after low tone syllables, and after words in which one or two high tones follow low tone syllables. Elsewhere nominals derived in this way are of the characteristic abstract tone pattern L_oH. As is apparent, there are many exceptions.

àlîn	*indigo*	àlìnrám	*dyer's work site*
bálté	*mid-morning period*	bàltèrám	*breakfast*
bélì	*razor*	bèlìrám	*penis head after circumcision*
bílgə̀	*foam*	bìlgə̀rám	*crotch of person/animal*
bínà	*chaff*	bìnàrám	*chaff container*
bínə̀m	*cold season*	bìnə̀mrám	*tax assessed in cold season*
bòwûl	*urine*	bòwùlrám/bòwùllám	*bladder*
bûn/bùnà	*lying down*	bùnàrám	*way/place of sleeping*
cígə̀	*fly*	cìgə̀rám	*horse's facial fly chaser*
cîm	*bitter*	cìmrám	*gall bladder*
cíntə́	*wiping*	cìntə̀rám	*duster, sth for wiping*
círà	*gravel*	cìràrám	*gizzard*
còlló	*urine*	còllòrám	*urethra*
dà+	*stop, end, stand*	dàngèrám	*the highest/greatest/biggest*
dàtə́	*stopping, ending, etc.*	dàtə̀rám	*standing position; tying-post*
II	*stopping at*	dàtə́gə́ràm	*end, stopping point*
dáwú	*neck*	dàwùrám	*decorative rope for horse's neck*
də́bdò	*spending the day*	də̀bdòrám	
də́mbé	*blow of butt-side of hand with closed fist*	də̀mbèrám	*protruding flesh at side of hand when making a* dəmbe *fist*
fàntə́gə́	*making hear*	fàntə́gə́ràm	*truthful way of expression*
fátómà	*host, head of house*	fátómàràm	*gift from one's host*
félí	*side of face*	fèlìrám	*horse's facial decoration*
fér+	*lay out, unfold*	fèrrám	*carpet spread for sitting*
férò	*girl*	féròràm	*polite for vagina; money paid by groom for bride's virginity*
fértə́	*laying out, unfolding*	fèrtèrám	*blanket, spread*
fə́rátə́	*sweeping*	fə̀ràtə́ràm	*broom*
fə́rə́s+	*escape, run away*	fə̀rə̀skə̀rám	*open outdoor space; parade ground*
gàwò	*entering*	gàwòrám	*entrance, way of entering*
gə̀wáttə́	*stepping*	gə̀wàttə́ràm	*step, stair*
gùltə́	*saying*	gùltə́ràm	*way of saying sth*
II	*saying to, teaching*	gùltə́gə́ràm	*best way of verbal expression*
kàjâ	*circumcision*	kàjàrám	*foreskin*
kámtə́	*cutting*	kàmtə̀rám	*narrowest cutting point; waist*
kàsâm	*breeze*	kàsàmrám	*wind-hole, window*
kə̀mbû	*eating*	kə̀mbə̀rám	*right (hand)*
kə̀ndə́gà	*living*	kə̀ndə̀gàrám	*living place; way of life*
kìngìyâm	*messenger to give sth to*	kìngìyàmrám	*gift to* kingiyam *messenger*
kóló	*small drum*	kòlòrám	*hoof*
kòrò	*asking*	kòròrám	*bride asking price paid to parents*
kùntúshí	*rest*	kùntùshìrám	*resting place*
kúrà	*big, important*	kùràrám	*money paid to a wife upon taking another wife*
kùrû	*seeing*	kùrùrám	*eye; sth to see with*
kùsúsù	*female groom's represent.*	kùsùsùrám	*place of* kùsúsù *during wedding*
kwângâ	*man*	kwàngàrám	*penis*
kwânyí	*my husband*	kwànyìrám	*characteristic male behavior*
látə́	*digging*	làtə̀rám	*digging implement*
lètə́gə́	*making go*	lètə́gə́ràm	*behavior, way it works, procedure*
líwà	*dead unslaughtered animal*	líwáràm	*bad rotten egg*

líwú	*pocket*
lóglógmà	*one that goes* lóglóg
lói	*up high*
sáa+	*weave*
sálà	*prayer*
sə́llátə́	*sharpening*
sə́nyé	*herding, grazing*
shárákt ə́	= sə́llátə́
shímálò	*tear*
súk+	*pierce, penetrate*
tàmòtə́	*finish, complete*
wàstə́	*igniting, turning on*
wástə́	*pounding in mortar*
wòlò+	*perform ablution*
wúl	*shiny, flashing*
wùlwùlá+	*shine, reflect*
yàngê	*pants, trousers*
yèzò	*killing, extinguishing*
zàktə́	*closing, covering*
zə̀ptə́	*descend, alight*

lìwùrám	*malam's prayer case*
lòglògmàrám	*pulse hole at throat base*
lòilòirám	*pinnacle, highest point*
sààrám	*loom*
sàlàrám	*callous/sandy spot on forehead*
sə̀llàtə̀rám	*sharpener*
sə̀nyèrám	*pasturage*
shàràktə̀rám	= sə̀llàtə̀rám
shímálòràm	*point of tears/crying*
súwúràm	*key*
tàmòtə́ràm	*end*
wàstə́ràm	*switch etc. for turning on*
wàstə̀rám	*mortar for pounding grain heads*
wòlòrám	*forearm*
wúlléràm	*firefly*
yàngèrám	*waist where pants are belted*
yèzòrám	*killing/turning off place/instrument*
zàktə́ràm	*lid, top, cover*
zə̀ptə́ràm	*place to stay, temporary lodging*

8. The Suffix +rí. The high tone suffix +rí is applied to nouns in the derivation of nouns of place, and is most often used to describe the residence or the home of the noun to which it is applied. Many geographical names, especially of towns and villages, in Borno State were derived through the application of this suffix. Within the bigger towns like Maiduguri (Yerwa) and Bama for example, many of the quarters or wards of the town are also formed in this way. The wards may be named after an important person whose residence is in the neighborhood, such as the ward in which the Shehu of Borno resides, where his palace is, is referred to as Shèhùrí, which may be used to refer either to the Shehu's palace or to the ward where it is located. Wards may also be named in this way for a non-Kanuri ethnic group which has settled there, or for the artisans practicing a given craft which have settled together in a ward.

The suffix +rí is a tone changing suffix since it always retains its high tone, and since its application results in the change to low tone of all of the tones in the word to which it is suffixed. The resulting tone pattern is once again the characteristic abstract tone pattern L_oH. When it is applied to a word final nasal consonant, it becomes +tí and is written as it is pronounced according to the SKO.

àlînmà	*dyer*	àlìnmàrí	*dyer's residence/ward*
àjjá	*district head*	àjjàrí	*district head's residence*
àlhájì/ájì	*pilgrim/pilgrimmage*	àlhàjìrí/àjìrí	*pilgrim's registration area*
Àfùnó	*Hausa*	Àfùnòrí	*Hausa ward*
bə́làmà	*village head*	bə̀làmàrí	*village head's residence*
kágə́lmà	*smith*	kàgə̀lmàrí	*smith's residence/ward*
kə́mbù	*blind person*	kə̀mbùrí	*blind people's ward*
làwân	*ward/village head*	làwàntí	*ward/village head's residence*
lìítà	*doctor*	lììtàrí/lììtárì	*dispensary, hospital*
lìmân	*imam*	lìmàntí	*imam's residence/ward*
mâi	*king*	màirí	*king's residence*
màidùwú	*son of prince*	Màidùwùrí	*prince's son's residence; village*
Shéhù	*Shehu of Borno*	Shèhùrí	*Shehu's residence/ward*
tándà	*delinquent*	tàndàrí	*juvenile delinquent home*

CHAPTER 9: WORD FORMATION THROUGH TONE CHANGE, EPENTHESIS AND REDUPLICATION

1. Introduction. It is the purpose of the present chapter to describe all of the word formation processes rooted in phonological processes, whether they be segmental or suprasegmental. Though most of the procceses described here are synchronically productive, certain of them are documented here with only very scanty data since they have only recently been recognized as part of Kanuri word morphology. Others only mentioned here are no longer productive in the language.

The discussion will center on three major areas which will be treated in the order in which they are presented here: 1) words derived through altering the tone pattern of other words, including the process of compounding, through which new compound words are formed by combining words and altering their tone when combined, 2) words formed through the epenthesis of a vowel or an entire CV syllable to stems and other lexical items, and 3) words formed through the reduplication of the syllables of a stem or other lexical item, sometimes accompanied by vowel epenthesis for phonological reasons.

2. Words Derived from Other Words through Tone Change. Tone and tone change play a very important role in the derivational morphology of Kanuri. This is true not only with regard to the nouns, but also with regard to the verb. The role of tone in the language was described briefly in ch.4, and the subject of tone change was briefly introduced there. In this section, the morphological role played by tone change in word formation will be delimited and fully elaborated.

In ch. 8, some of the productive word formative affixes were described there as tone changing affixes. There it was noted that when applied, certain of the affixes result in the derived tone pattern L_oH, an abbreviation used to indicate a high tone on the final syllable of a word, preceded by one or more low tone syllables. This L_oH pattern will be repeatedly observed in the present section, as being typical of many of the words derived from other words through tone change. Words derived in this way normally bear some kind of abstract semantic relationship to the basic unaltered form from which they were derived. Thus this characteristic derived tone pattern will be referred to as the abstract nominal L_oH tone pattern.

2.1. Diachronic Evidence of Tone Change as a Word Formation Process. In ch. 4 it was suggested that many of the pairs of words differing only in tone which we regard simply as minimal pairs of Kanuri, may in fact have originally been derived one from the other, at a time in the history of the language when tone change was a productive morphological process. There is evidence for this among lexical items, and as well very strong support is provided by evidence from the stems of class 2 verbs. Because of the morphemic structure of the class 2 verb (see p. 96) we know that all of the stems functioning as *roots* for this class, originally came from elsewhere in the language or from outside of the language. For many of these class 2 roots, their source is easily traceable. However one of the distinctive subgroups of class 2 roots is that one made up of monosyllabic roots which have no apparent Kanuri or non-Kanuri source. The small sample of this subgroup presented here involves minimal pairs of these roots differing only in tone. This sample suggests that a low tone root of this subgroup may have at some point been derived from a high tone root of the subgroup, or vice-versa. There is also some evidence from this subgroup as well as from elsewhere in the class 2 roots which provides some support for the hypothesis that low tone may be associated with intransitivity and high tone with transitivity, in this verb class.

dàm+	*become crowded, fill up*	dám+	*seep, ooze*
fù+	*blow*	fú+	*swell*
kà+	*avoid, escape*	ká+	*open, uncover, reveal*
kə̀r+	*thicken, solidify*	kə́r+	*wrap up*
kòk+	*peck at*	kók+	*plant, stick in ground*
sàm+	*distribute, give out*	sám+	*rub on*
tàr+	*spread out, lay out*	tár+	*scatter, disperse*
yèn+	*fish out, scoop out*	yén+	*stretch*
yì+	*dissolve, melt*	yí+	*undo*
yìn+	*breathe*	yín+	*smell, sniff*
zə̀k+	*scrape, grate, shake*	zə́k+	*annoy, pester, irritate*

Since this represents a closed subgroup of the class 2 roots, this data is clearly representative of a process which is no longer productive.

2.2. Deriving Language Names from Ethnic Group Names. The L-H-L word Kànúrì refers to *the Kanuri people, a Kanuri person*. The L_oH word Kànùrí refers to *the Kanuri language*. The language may also be referred with the reduplicated version of the same L_oH word, i.e. Kànùrìkànùrí. Clearly the language name does bear a semantically abstract relationship to the people. Thus through tone change involving the application of the characteristically abstract L_oH tone pattern to the underlying L-H-L pattern, the name of the language is derived from the name of the people. In this way many, though not all, language names are derived. It is the derived nominal describing the language which also lends itself readily to the modifier function within the noun phrase and thus one can express the notion *Kanuri medicine*, either with a genitive modifier involving the name of the people, as in kùrwûn Kànúrìbè *Kanuri medicine, medicine of the Kanuri*, or with the derived language/modifier occurring alone in the modifier position, as in kùrwûn Kànùrí *Kanuri medicine*. As modifiers or as predicate adjectives, the derived forms are often used to describe something which is typical of the ethnic group, e.g. an object or some kind of behavior. In this descriptive use again, it is apparent that the derived form bears an abstract relation to the underlying form. The reduplicated L_oH form may as well be used in the descriptive modifier function.

ethnic group		*language and modifier*	
Àfùnó	*Hausa person/people*	Àfùnó/Àfùnòàfùnó	*Hausa*
Fàránsà	*French person/people*	Fàrànsá/Fàrànsàfàrànsá	*French*
Fə́látà	*Fulfulde person/people*	Fə̀làtá/Fə̀làtàfə̀làtá	*Fulfulde*
Kànémbù	*Kanembu person/people*	Kànèmbú/Kànèmbùkànèmbú	*Kanembu*
Kànúrì	*Kanuri person/people*	Kànùrí/Kànùrìkànùrí	*Kanuri*
nàsárá	*European, important person*	nàsàrá/nàsàrànàsàrá	*English*
Yáràwá	*Yoruba person/people*	Yàràwá/Yàràwàyàràwá	*Yoruba*

For other ethnic groups and nationalities which do not have a trisyllabic structure, this process may not apply. For example the German language may be referred to as tə́làm Jámùsbè *the tongue of Germany*. In the case of Shùwá *Shuwa Arab person/people*, the reduplicated L_oH derived form is most often used exclusively in the language/modifier role, i.e.: Shùwàshùwá.

2.3. Deriving Abstract Forms from Lexical Nouns. For the examples treated here it is again the case that the derived L_oH tone pattern corresponds with the abstract meaning of the derived form in relation to its underlying lexical source.

ing lexical source. The process captured by the examples presented here is identical to that described above with regard to ethnic groups and languages, though the reduplicated form is not normally produced for these tonally derived forms.

lexical noun		*derived abstract form*	
fátò	*house*	fàtó	*of the household*
férò	*girl*	fèró	*typical of girls, girlish*
fúfù	*lungs*	fùfú	*lung disease of cattle*
kámú	*woman*	kàmú	*typical of women*
kə̀nə̂m	*sleep*	kə̀nə́m	*sleeping sickness*
kwángá	*man*	kwàngá	*typical of men*
mə́ndè	*last year*	mèndé	*former times, in the past*
ngánjì	*chest*	ngànjí	*permanent cough, TB*
shímálò	*tear (of eyes)*	shìmàló	*cattle disease with tearing of eyes as one symptom*
tádà	*child, boy*	tàdá/tàdàtàdá	*childish*
zánò	*sth stabbed, lanced*	zànó	*cattle disease believed caused by shooting of poison dart*

The following examples are apparently representative of this same process though they all share the feature of an underlying L-H tone pattern on their lexical source. It is perhaps for this reason that their only derived form is the reduplicated L_0H form.

bàttí	*useless, undesirable*	bàttìbàttí	*useless undesirable collection of things*
cə̀lló	*urine*	cə̀llə̀cə̀lló	*urine-like*
zə̀lí	*insane person, mad, crazy*	zə̀lìzə̀lí	*typical of insane person*

2.4. Derived L_0H Abstract Forms with Suffixes. Semantically, these examples are identical to those presented in 2.2 and 2.3, with a derived form abstractly related to its underlying source. Structurally however, these examples involve some form of suffixation, the suffix very likely being applied before the tone change in some cases, and after the tone change in others.

The following derived forms all end with a high tone, final consonant geminating suffix +á. Thus for example, the word kàdáwù means *dirt*, and the derived form with suffix is the L_0H patterned kàdàwùá meaning *permanently dirty*. According to the analysis to be presented here, the underlying source of this suffix is the low tone, final consonant geminating suffix +á, which is the associative postposition (see p. 199). According to this analysis therefore, the associative postposition would first be applied to the underlying lexical source kàdáwù *dirt*, giving kàdáwù+à ›kàdáwùà *dirty*. To this then the L_0H tone changing process would apply, giving the surface derived form kàdàwùá *permanently dirty*. Whether or not this is the correct source for such derived forms cannot be verified at the present time. It is important to point out that these derived forms when coming from a lexical noun plus suffix alone are in fact homophonous with what would be the plural forms of the lexical nouns, even though they are written differently according to the SKO. Thus if kàdáwù were a count noun its plural would be written kàdàwùwá according to the SKO, though it would be pronounced exactly as the derived kàdàwùá *permanently dirty* is written and pronounced. It may therefore be possible that the process by which count nouns of Kanuri are pluralized (described on p. 43), and the derived tone changing process being described here are instances of the same process. According to this hypothesis therefore, pluralization would semantically qualify as an abstract form with the L_0H tone pattern because of the semantic relation between the more abstract plural form and the more concrete singular form. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that nearly all of the nouns presented below as examples of the tone changing process are in fact non-count nouns. Nevertheless, the following examples are presented as described above, through the application first of the associative postposition, and then the tone changing process.

bə́rbə̀r bə́rbə̀rrà	*dust* *dusty*	bə̀rbə̀rrá	*permanently dusty, filthy*
kàdáwù kàdáwùà	*dirt* *dirty*	kàdàwùá	*permanently dirty*
kàttí kàttíà	*earth, mud, soil* *having earth, mud, soil*	kàttìá	*very dirty; sexual experimentation by children on the ground; insult referring to parents' private parts*
kə̀lí kə̀líà		kə̀lìá	
kúngə́nà kúngə́nàà	*money* *having money, rich*	kùngə̀nàá	*having to do with money, a money matter*

In the following two examples, it is apparent that this same process has been applied to a compound. In both cases the derived form is usually pronounced with the contraction of the final syllable as indicated.

kàrə́gə̀ kúttù kàrə́gə̀ kúttùà	*heart* *unpleasant, bad* *being unhappy*	kàrə̀gə̀kùttùá kàrə̀gə̀kùttá	*sadness*
múskò cíbbù múskò cíbbùà	*hand, arm* *hard* *tight-fisted, miserly*	mùskòcìbbùá mùskòcìbbá	*avarice*

In the next set of examples, the nominalizing suffix +ram has been applied to words derived through the same process as already described to this point. This suffix was described on page 60 as a formative of instrumental and locative nominals. However when it is here applied to these abstract forms, the resulting nominals are abstract, describing the *matter* or the *issue pertaining to* the basic lexical noun from which they are formed. Other treatments of Kanuri grammar have analyzed examples of this type as instances of the application of a tone changing suffix +áràm (cf Lukas, 1937:12; Cyffer, 1977:64). The tone pattern of these derived forms however, plus the normal tonal behavior of the suffix +ram (which is always low tone when applied to words of the L_oH pattern), would support the present analysis.

bàdì+	*begin*	bàdíàràm	*beginning*
bárè bárèà	*farming, hoeing* *there is farming*	bàrèáràm	*a farming matter*
bìské bìskéà	*game, amusement, play* *having a game, etc.*	bìskèáràm	*amusing or entertaining event or matter*
kákkádə̀ kákkádə̀à	*paper, book* *having paper, etc.*	kàkkàdə̀áràm	*matter pertaining to books, writing, etc.*
kámú kámúà	*woman, wife* *having a woman, wife*	kàmùáràm	*things belonging to or pertaining to a woman*

kə́rà	*study, learning, reading*	kə̀ràáràm	*matter of learning*
kə́ràà	*having study, etc.*		
kúlò	*field, farm*	kùlòáràm	*matter pertaining to the field*
kúlòà	*having a field, farm*		
lòrúsà	*bride, groom*	lòrùsàáràm	*matters/preparations relating to a wedding*
lòrúsàà	*having a bride, groom*		
ngə́mə́rì	*festival*	ngə̀mə̀rìáràm	*a festival matter*
ngə́mə́rìà	*there is a festival*		

In the following examples an adjectival noun of color is involved as the lexical source of the derived abstract form. For these examples however the abstract L_oH tone pattern apparently does not apply.

bûl	*white*	bûllàràm	*whitish; type of horse with white spots*
cìmê	*red*	cìmêàràm	*reddish*
kə̂lî	*green*	kə̂lîàràm	*greenish*
sə́lə́m	*black*	sə́lə́mmàràm	*blackish*

In the following final example the L_oH tone pattern does apply to a compounded abstract form which is used idiomatically as indicated below.

kànyî	*goat*	kànyìkə̀lìáràm	*lit: the matter of the kid goat; used idiomatically when sth has another unspoken reason behind it*
kə̂lî	*newborn*		
kànyî kə̂lî	*kid goat*		

2.5. Deriving Nominals from Verbal Nouns. The nominals presented here are derived by tone change alone and again demonstrate a derived semantic abstraction from the underlying source, which is here a verbal noun. These examples are not instances of the abstract L_oH tone pattern. It represents thus far a rather limited class of derived nominals and thus it does not seem to be a very productive morphological process. It is only certain class 2 verbal nouns which participate in this process. It is worth noting that most of the source verbal nouns are those with low tone roots and intransitive meanings.

bə̀mtə́	*living in luxury*	bə̂mtə̀	*luxury, opulence*
dàtə́	*standing, stopping*	dâtə̀	*height*
kàtə́	*escaping*	kâtə̀	*escape; avoidance*
kə̀rtə́	*thickening, freezing*	kə̂rtə̀	*pile, stack*
kə́rtə́	*wrapping/tying up*		
mə̀rtə́	*becoming humid*	mə̂rtə̀	*humidity*
ngə́ktə́	*envying*	ngə̂ktə̀	*jealousy, envy*
nòtə́	*knowing*	nôtə̀	*knowledge*
rétə́/rètà	*halving, splitting*	rétà	*half*
yìntə́	*breathing*	yîntə̀	*breath*

3. Deriving Nominals by Combining Words. The process of forming new words through the combination of words is extremely productive in Kanuri, just as it is in English and many other languages. In English, by combining the words *sleep* and *walk*, or *wind* and *mill*, and by changing their stress or accent pattern in combining them, the derived words *sleepwalk* and *windmill* respectively, are formed. Such combinations are referred to as *compounds* by linguists, and the process *compounding*. The process of compounding is indicated in Kanuri by tone change of the source words, rather than by stress or accent change. All Kanuri compounds, the derivation of which involves some tone alteration of the component parts, are written as one word according to the SKO, without hyphenation. The

tone changes and the resulting tone pattern of the derived form are not always predictable. The abstract L_oH tone pattern is however quite prevalent among the derived compounds.

3.1. Compounds Made up of Nouns. All of the compounds presented here involve the combination of a noun usually with another noun, and less often with a verb root. It will be noticed that many of the lexical nouns involved in these compounds are the names for body parts.

source		*compound*	
cî	*mouth*		
kùndúlì	*hair*	cìkùndùlí	*moustache*
kánnú	*fire*	cìkànnú	*piece of burnt firewood*
tádà	*boy, son, child*	cîtàdà	*lid, cover (usu of granary)*
gál+	*sharpen by pounding*	cìngâl	*tin, corrugated iron*
dáwú	*neck*	dàwùngàshó	*dyed gown with dark indigo at top, light below*
ngáshò	*stork*		
dáwù	*middle, center*	dàwúdè	*macaroni, noodles*
dê	*empty*		
bû	*blood*	bùkərí	*dark red, maroon*
kə́rì	*dog*		
dágə̀l	*monkey*	dàgə̀lbùlóngú	*baboon*
bùlóngú	*tree type*		
kâm	*person, man*		
bâ	*there is/are not*	kámbà	*widow*
tàndò	*building*	kàmtàndó	*artificial, man-made*
kàngádì	*horn (animal)*	kàngàdìtìló	*rhinoceros*
tìló	*one*		
kàrə́gə̀	*heart*	kàrə̀gə̀wár	*heartburn*
wár+	*burn*		
kə̀lâ	*head*		
bûl	*white*	kə̀làbúl	*impetigo of scalp*
bílgə̀	*foam*	kə̀lâbìlgə̀	*white flowering shrub*
də́rí+	*circle around, avoid*	kə̀làdə̀rí/kə̀màdə̀rí	*dizziness, vertigo*
fə̀rə́m	*open*	kə̀làfə̀rə́m	*enlightenment, awareness*
kâ	*stick, cane*	kə̀lákàa	*head of the bed*
sáwàdə̀	*local sugar cane*	kə̀làsáwàdə̀	*horse's bridle decoration*
sə́rə̀n	*pain, ache*	kə̀lâsə̀rə̀n	*headache*
yàkkə́/yàskə́	*three*	kə̀làyàkkə́/kə̀làyàskə́	*young unmarried girl with 3-sectioned hair style*
záwá	*man's round cap*	kə̀làzàwâ	*top edged part of man's cap*
tə́rə́m	*crowded, in quantity*	kə̀lâtə̀rə̀m/kə̀mátə̀rə̀n	*type of head cold*
kə̀nâ	*hunger*	kə̀nákə̀nə̀m	*sleepy feeling when hungry*
kə̀nə̂m	*sleep*		
kə́nzà	*nose*		
bû	*blood*	kə́nzámbù/kə́nzámù	*bloody nose*
ìndí	*two*	kə̀nzàndí	*fork in a road or branch*
yàkkə́	*three*	kə̀nzàyàkkə́	*3-branched fork*
kwâ	*man*	kwánà	*guy, little man*
gàná	*small, little*		

kùndúlî	*hair*	kùndùlìnjìwí	*pepper corn hair*
njíwì	*burr grass, burr*		
njî	*water*	njìgòró	*orangish kola color*
górò	*kola nut*		
ngúdî	*poor destitute person*	ngùdìkám	*bum, rogue*
kâm	*person*		
rô	*soul, life*	rôkùrà	*conceit*
kúrà	*big, important*		
sə́mò	*ear*	sə̀mòlí	*wild cat with long pointed ears*
lí+	*grow*		
shî	*foot, leg*		
gál+	*sharpen by pounding*	shíyál	*shin, shinbone*
kâ	*stick, cane*	shîkàà	*foot of the bed*
kátè	*space, interval*	shîkàtè	*space between thighs*
shîm	*eye*		
kə̀lî	*green*	shìmkə̀lí	*hepatitis, jaundice*
kúrét	*short narrow scratch*	shìmkùrét	*cheek marking below eyes*
kurni	*?*	shìmkùrní	*novice, beginner*
kùwûi	*chicken*	shìmkùwûi	*sorghum variety*
kawu	*?*	kàwúshìm	*eyelashes*
zâu	*painful, difficult*	shîmzàu	*conjunctivitis*
shû	*iron, metal*	shûbì	*magnet*
bî	*male (of animal)*		
tádà	*boy, son, child*	tàdàsùnyí	*infant death*
súnyì	*herdsman*		
tádà	*boy, son, child*	tàdàngə̀nyé	*barren*
ngənye	*without*		
tə́làm	*tongue, language*	tə̀làmtùtú	*lisp-like speech defect*
tùt+	*stop up, stuff*		

3.2. Compounds Made up of Verbs. Compounds made up of one or more finite or nonfinite verbal components are quite common. Such compounds are more predictable tonally than their counterparts derived from other lexical sources. They are quite consistently of the abstract L_oH tone pattern. In the Kanuri verb system, it is the 2S verb form which is used as the neutral finite form for giving directions, telling someone how to get somewhere or how to do something, etc., just as is the case in English. Further, it is also the 2S form of the conjunctive conjugation of the verb which Kanuri uses impersonally to conjoin verbal nouns, and in other impersonal environments (see ch. 35). Therefore, wáltə̀m bàktà does not mean **you return and beating/printing*, but rather literally means *returning and beating/printing*, even though the first finite verb form is fully marked for 2S in the conjunctive conjugation. Together the pair may be used to mean *reprinting* or *retyping*. It is this impersonal 2S conjunctive verb form which participates in a great many of the verb-based compounds introduced in this section. In many cases it is followed within the compound by a 2S imperative verb form, which has also apparently taken on the impersonal connotation in this environment.

verbal source		*compound*	
bònə̂m	*2S CNJ you lie down and*	bònə̀mdə̀gái	*woman's jumper type*
də̀gâi	*2S IMP live!*		

bònəm wàné	*2S CNJ you lie down and* *2S IMP spend the night!*	bònəmwàné	*passage of time, time, day in and day out*
dànəm wállé	*2S CNJ you stop and* *2S IMP become/return!*	dànəmwâllé	*retreat, sudden turning back*
də́rínəm kə́llé	*2S CNJ you go around and* *2S IMP join together!*	də̀rìnəmkə̀llé	*perimeter, circumference*
dútəm fété	*2S CNJ you sew and* *2S IMP undo it!*	dùtəmfèté	*sth done uselessly e.g. sewing without thread*
gâm àré	*2S CNJ you follow and* *2S IMP come!*	gàmàré	*bamboo (formerly used for policeman's night-stick)*
lènəm àré	*2S CNJ you go and* *2S IMP come!*	lènəmàré	*round trip, to and fro*
mánəm búi	*2S CNJ you look for and* *2S IMP eat!*	mànəmbúi	*daily bread, livelihood*
shìlləm búi	*2S CNJ you skin/peel and* *2S IMP eat!*	shìlləmbúi	*unskinned peanuts*
yádəm kúdé	*2S CNJ you carry away and* *2S IMP bring back!*	yàdəmkùdé	*gossip, rumors*

The remaining examples to be presented here represent a potpourri of compounds in which at least one finite or nonfinite verb form occurs as one of the combined words. Several of the examples involve the reduplication of a finite verb form. Not all of them involve tone change.

Álà kòrò	*Ala* *asking*	Àlàngòrò	*asking God*
gâmbâ	*you will not follow*	gámbà	*tired old cow*
gâwí	*you (pl) did not follow*	gàwí	*stray, lost domestic animal*
kə̀lí zúwò	*green, raw* *he ate it*	kə̀lìzùwó	*raw green vegetables*
kúlwú múké/múské	*man's gown* *I should put it on*	kə̀lmə̀ské kùlwùmə̀skè+	*sleeve* *conceal in gown sleeve*
kòlgátà gó+	*left, abandoned* *take*	kòlgàtàgó	*money etc found unexpectedly*
gàdà	*they said*	gádàgádà	*rumors, gossip*
ngáidò gái	*jaw* *2S follow!*	ngàidògáigái	*mumps*
ngáwò súrú	*back, behind* *s/he should see*	ngàwòsúrú	*stealing from one's husband's house for one's relatives*
màtà fə̀rə́m+	*looking for* *open*	màtàfə̀rə́m	*medicine against weapons*
nzə́tà lèwónò	*it seized you* *s/he went*	nzə́dálèwò	*diarrhea*
súró mbùlò	*stomach, insides* *filling up*	súrómbùlò	*nickname of a festival involving feasting*
wònò	*s/he said*	wónòwónò	*sth heard thru grapevine*
rûwwâ sə̀	*you (pl) won't see* *s/he thought*	rûwwâsə́/wúrwàsə́	*pimple, blemish*
gə̀ré	*2S chew!*	gə̀régə̀ré	*snacks*

3.3. Compounds and Other Nominals Derived from Verb Emphasis Completive Forms. According to the present analysis, all of the derived nominals presented here have been derived from finite verb forms in the verb emphasis completive aspect (see p. 125). In the cases cited here, it is normally the 3S form which is adapted to this derivative use. Some of the examples presented represent compounds, though most of them are simply nominals derived in this way through usually some kind of tone change. The verb emphasis completive is easily recognized by the tone pattern on the final syllable: it always ends in a high tone +í syllable. This is recognizable here, and as well, it appears that the abstract L_oH tone pattern is sometimes relevant.

source verb root		*derived nominal*	
cǒk+	*walk tiptoed due to stiffness in ankle/foot*	cǒkcí	*limp person with stiff foot at the ankle*
dà+	*stop, end*	dàjìrâm	*end*
dí+	*do*	sə́dí/cídí	*earth, ground*
dùnyâ	*world, nature*	dùnyàtí	*worldly person*
gàp+	*remain, be left over*	gàpcí	*remainder, leftovers*
gùl+	*say*	gùljìgùljí	*idle talk*
kákás+	*peel bark from*	kàskàshí	*bark (tree); scales (fish)*
kúlás+	*investigate*	kùlàshí	*research, investigation*
kwàà+	*become married (woman)*	kwààjí	*persistent spinster*
ngə̀rmə́s+	*break in, wear in*	ngə̀rmə̀shì	*goal*
kə̀là+	*win*	kə̀làjí	*winner*
rú+	*see*	njìmsùrí	*girl divorced after very short marriage*
njîm	*hut*		
sàk+	*drip, filter, leak*	sátkì/sáttì	*goatskin water bag*
tə̀mà+	*hope, expect*	tə̀màjí	*fiancé*
tùs+	*rest, spend time*	tùshìrâm	*resting place*
yèz+	*kill*	kàmcèjí	*murderer*
kâm	*person*		

4. Word Formation through Final Vowel/Syllable Epenthesis. According to the present analysis, the examples presented here are derived from the indicated underlying sources for spontaneous phonological reasons. It has been observed (see p.15)that the possible forms of the Kanuri syllable are CV, CVC, and V, the latter V usually resulting from borrowing where it occurs in word initial position. Excluding the specific adverb, every word in the lexicon terminates either with a vowel final CV syllable, or with a sonorant consonant final CVC syllable. Thus the phonological structure of the Kanuri syllable may be predictable on the basis of its position within the word, as well as on the lexical category of the word within which it occurs. It is therefore likely that many of the following derived nominals have been formed from underlying CV and CVC roots by either final vowel epenthesis or final CV syllable epenthesis, in order to qualify as bisyllabic words of the lexicon and as a result of the constraints on syllable structure, final consonant quality, etc., inherent to the phonology of the language.

In the examples presented in this section it will be noted that many are included which do not strictly reflect the phonological constraints described above. The H-L tone pattern of bisyllabic words for example is more often violated than not. Also, final vowel epenthesis often applies not only to final obstruents, but as well to final sonorant consonants, again in violation of the above. Nevertheless, for the sake of completeness and documentation, all words that could possibly have been derived through this process have been included here.

4.1. Epenthesis Applied to Underlying Class 2 Verb Roots. For nearly all of the examples presented here, a class 2 verb root is indicated as the proposed underlying source. It is apparent that the examples presented do not represent a semantically unified group of derived nominals. In some cases the relation between the proposed source and its derived form may not be readily apparent and may even be questionable.

source		*derived nominal*	
bák+	*beat, hit*	bágə̀	*stumbling block*
bə̀lə̀k+	*interrupt, confuse, mix up*	bə̀lə́gə̀/bə́lgə̀	*uncouth fool*
bərtətə	*bumpy gourd*	bə̀rtə́tə́gə̀	*large toad*
bərtəka	*large bumpy gourd*		
fál+	*break in two at natural division; ford, wade across*	fàlí	*section or lobe of sth*
		fálà	*flood*
fə́t+	*need*	fə́tkə̀	*needy person*
fù+	*blow, stoke*	fúwò/fúkkò	*cooking tripod*
fú+	*swell*		
gák+	*skin (animal)*	gàngâu	*dried untanned cowhide*
gál+	*sharpen edge by pounding*	gàlí	*trimmed, sealed edge*
gár+	*build, construct*	gàré	*shadow of wall, hedge*
		gàrú	*wall*
gə̀r+	*VC 1 chew, munch*	magəri	*craving for salty meat, etc.*
gúr+	*whip, flog, cane*	gúrù	*raised welts, corrugation, waistband charm under e.g. dress*
gùrùp+	*poke, butt*	gùrûi	*butting*
kàlàp+	*anoint hands during marriage ceremony; knock down from above*	kàláwà	*anointing of hands during marriage ceremony; fruit etc. knocked down from e.g. tree*
káráp+	*scrape, strike together*	káráwù	*knock-kneed*
kàsàt+	*agree, accept*	kàsádà	*agreement, consent*
kə́nd+	*VC 1 bind child on back*	kə̀ndégə̀	*woman who recently gave birth*
kó+	*pass, surpass; II echo*	kówò	*voice, echo*
kók+	*plant or stick in ground*	kógə̀/kówù	*sth holding sth in position*
kûr	*wooden mortar*	kúrwú	*pestle, grinder*
kùsùl+	*disappear from disuse (e.g. a path)*	kùsúlù	*wild plant with edible fruit*
lí+	*grow*	lígə̀	*Chadian guinea corn variety*
lór+	*VC 1 gather up and remove*	lòrí	*undesirable meat gristle*
mát+	*press down and pull strongly*	mángù	*nasal bone, sceptum*
		mânngə̀	*nickname for monkey, referring to noseless flatfaced appearance*
mə̀k+	*apply heat e.g. to body*	mə́gə̀/mə̀gə̄	*warm closed container, underground oven*
			electric fish
mìlmìlá+	*ferment*	bílgə̀	*foam*
ndə́p+	*tie, knot*	ndə́wú	*knot*
ngə́s+	*try*	ngə́sə́	*hard tumor on body*
ngə̀shí	*elbow*		
nzə́t+	*wring or squeeze out*	nzə́tkə̀	*ignoramus*
shík+	*scrape off, grate*	cígə́	*teeth-cleaning chew stick*
sùlìt+	*slip*	sùlùdí	*slipping, skidding*
súk+	*pierce, penetrate, vaccinate*	súwù	*grass for* zana *mats*
		súwúràm	*key*
wàr+	*snatch; II take sides in argument*	wárì	*partiality, taking sides*
wàwàk+	*become one's fate*	wàwáà	*destiny, fate*
wòwóp+	= *V* of wóp+ *overwhelm*	wòwówà	*luck, chance*
yés+	*deviate, turn off*	yésə̀	*power to escape thrown objects*
yíp+	*stack, line or bind up*	yíwú	*bound up in quantity*
		yíwú yíwú	yípkàtà *all bound up*

zá+	*stab, poke, beat, tap*	záwù	*arrow quiver*
zàk+	*close, cover*	záà	*woven basket used as lid*
		zágə̀	*cover, blanket*
zə̀k+	*grate, scrape, kindle*	zə̀gé	*ball of charcoal plus gum arabic used as ink*
zùr+	*scoop up, skid to a halt when stopping*	zúrí	*one scooped up handful, one skid*

4.2. Class 2 Roots and Corresponding Nominals from Arabic Sources.

All of the examples presented here share the common feature of entering Kanuri from the Arabic language. They are separated here because in many cases it is impossible to tell or to know whether the stems involved originally entered Kanuri as class 2 verb roots, or as nominals. Thus while many of them appear to be cases of the final syllable epenthesis described in 4.1 above, the derivational order may in fact be reversed, with the class 2 verb root being derived from the nominal. It is very likely that both derivational orders are involved among the examples presented.

class 2 verb root		*nominal*	
àdàr+/hàdàr+	*attend, witness, be present at*	ádárì/hádàr	*testimony, bearing witness, being present*
àmàr+	*will, let, allow, permit*	àmàrí	*permission, agreement*
àrdì+	*be grateful for, recognize*	àrdíà	*appreciation*
àskə̀r+	*thank*	àskə́rà	*gratitude, thanks*
àsàr+	*lose, abort*	àsárà	*miscarriage*
àlàk	*create*	àlə́gà	*creation*
		álə̀gə̀	*creature*
bàyèn+	*explain*	báyèn	*explanation*
dáwár+	*prepare, plan*	dàwàrí	*foresight, plan, ingenuity*
dìgə̀r+	*say the* shahada	dígər/dìgə́rà	*words la illaha illa llahu*
fàsàr+	*translate, explain*	fàsárà	*translation, explanation*
gàfə̀r+	*forgive, pardon*	gàfə́rà	*forgiveness*
gùl+	*say; II teach*	gùlû	*exaggeration*
hàiyà+	*verify, ascertain truth of*	hàíyà	*truth, fact*
hùrmò+	*favor*	húrmò	*good deed, favor*
jááp+	*answer*	jááwù	*answer*
jàràp+	*tempt, test, try*	jàráwà/jàráwù	*temptation, addiction, test*
jùmlà+	*gather, sum up, total up*	júmlà	*sentence, total*
kàdàr+	*preordain*	kàdárà	*predestiny*
kàsàl+	*bathe*	kàsálà	*bath, bathing*
gàsàl+	*bathe dead corpse*	gàsálà	*bathing dead corpse*
ìsàp+	*count*	ìsáwù	*counting*
mə̀nà+	*talk*	mánà	*talk, speech*
màkkàr+	*mock, imitate mockingly*	mákkàr	*imitation, play*
kə̀rà+	*read, study*	kə́rà	*reading, study*
nyà+	*intend, plan*	nyâ	*intention, plan*
sàlàm+	*dismiss, release*	sálàm	*greeting*
sálám+	*say salamu aleikum in prayer*		
sàdàk+	*give alms*	sàdáà	*alms for the poor*
		sàdákə̀	*bride to groom marriage gift*
shàk+	*III doubt*	shə́gə́	*doubt*
sòwòr+	*consult*	sòwórì	*meeting, consultation*
tàwàk+	*III pl agree with, reconcile one another*	táwàà	*seal, agreement*
wòlò+	*perform ablution*	wólò	*ablution*
zìyàrà+	*visit*	zìyárà	*visit*

5. Word Formation through Reduplication. In certain sections of the present chapter, examples exhibiting the various phonological processes under consideration, have in some cases also shown evidence of phonological reduplication (e.g. 2.2, 2.3, and 3.3). Reduplication is simply the process of repeating a syllable for semantic or syntactic reasons. In the examples presented here, reduplication is shown to be a productive morphological process in Kanuri, through which nominals are derived from the indicated underlying class 2 root sources. Many of the class 2 roots which are proposed as sources also have derived V reduplicated forms (see p.152)which in some cases may be more closely related to the derived nominals shown here. Nevertheless, only the basic non-derived form of the root is indicated. Derived form V of the finite verb form for CVC class 2 roots usually results in a reduplicated CVCVC form, in which the root final consonant is excluded from the reduplicated, prefixed syllable. However here, it is apparent that the entire CVC root structure is involved in the prefixed reduplicated syllable in such cases, i.e. complete repetition. The derived nominals presented here also represent another instance of final vowel/syllable epenthesis, as it was discussed in section 4 above. Note the frequent occurrence of the L_0H tone pattern.

class 2 verb root		*derived nominal*	
fál+	*break or split in two*	fàlfàlí	*split wood, kindling*
fér+	*lay/roll/spread out*	fèrfèrí	*name of boy's hair pattern*
fú+	*blow*	fúfù	*(cf Mande huhu) lungs*
fù+	*swell*	fùfú	*puffy bundle of kola nuts*
gár+	*build, construct*	gàrgàrí	*fence for farm or field; boy's pattern of hair tufts either in cross or oval corral shape*
		gàrgàrá	*enclosed area*
gər+	*drag, pull on ground, delay*	gərgərí	*slowness of action*
káng	*firmly planted in ground*	kángkányì/kánkánì/ kámkámì	*hard palate*
kòm+	*count, include, cite, reckon*	kòmkòmí	*calculations, pondering*
kór+ kórkór+	*head off, round up* *rotate, circle*	kòrkòrí	*any circular structure*
mèrâm	*witch, devil*	mèrmèrí	*dark tiers of clouds announcing the coming of rain*
sáp+	*collect*	sàbsàwí	*collection*
səp+	*shovel up*	səbsəwá	*dung beetle's dung burying mound*
súrìn kúsùr	*s/he sees* *path*	sùrsùrí	*obscure little used foot path*
ship+	*?*	shìpshìwú	*crevice in huts, buildings*
tátáp+	*gossip by whispering in front of others*	tàptàwí	*secret whispering conversation*
wàr+	*snatch, grab*	wàrwàrí	*theft by snatching*

CHAPTER 10: WORD FORMATION: HISTORICAL WORD FORMATIVES

1. Introduction. It has been observed that one important subpart of the Kanuri lexicon is made up of historically derived words that are now recognizable as composed of word formatives which are no longer productive in the language (page 27). With regard to these formatives, Lukas wrote:

> 18. The noun in Kanuri is, in most cases, composed of the root surrounded by affixes. These are called 'formative' affixes, and must be distinguished from the 'derivative' affixes mentioned below. Only in a very few instances can the formative affix be separated from the root; it is possible to recognize the root only by comparison with other dialects or with related languages.
>
> 19. Two prefixes (k,n) are very common in Kanuri: this accounts for the fact that so many words start with k and n, and also ng (ng resulting from the combination of n with k); (Lukas, 1937: 9)

The 'derivative' affixes are thus separable, and synchronically productive affixes (see ch. 9) clearly distinct from the 'formative' affixes to be treated in this chapter. Statistically speaking, using Lukas' vocabulary as a sample, it is apparent that of the 71 pages of vocabulary nearly 16 (22.4%) are taken up by the letter k, 9 (12.7%) by the letter n of whicb 4 (5.6%) are taken up by the combination ng. Nearly 5 (7%) pages are taken up by entries beginning with g, which I believe also plays a formative role historically. Thus 42.1% of his vocabulary is taken up by the letters g, k, and n.

This chapter will deal with all of the lexical formative affixes of the language which are no longer productive 'derivative' affixes. The role that each plays in the lexicon will be described, and in each case all presently available examples which were formed through these affixes will be presented in order to document their role.

2. The Formative Prefix k+. k/V/C+ prefixation is no longer a productive derivational process in Kanuri since one cannot apply it synchronically to produce or create new words of the language. It was clearly a very productive process historically since today nearly 25% of Kanuri words begin with k, and since a high percentage of those can be shown to be derived through prefixation. Because it is apparently a process which took various forms in the history of the language and probably occurred at different times, one today finds that in some cases the prefix k+ alone has been applied to stems, and that in other cases prefixes of the form kV+ and kVC+ have been applied.

The Saharan language Kanembu shows an even higher instance of k-prefixation. It is more paradigmatically complete in its application to the roots of the older class 1 verbs in the Kanembu language than is the case in the Yerwa dialect of Kanuri on which the present study is based. It is not apparently as widespread in the Tubu group of Saharan languages, composed of Teda, Daza, etc. In fact a number of vowel-initial Tubu words have come into Kanuri and undergone k-prefixation before entering the Kanuri lexicon. The noticeable falling tone on the Kanuri word kâm *person* for example, is the result of k-prefixation to an originally Tubu word, amo *person*.

In the example sets that follow, this formative prefix is shown in its application to what are believed to be the oldest words in the language, i.e. the class 1 verb root. It is also shown in its application to what are believed to be more recently acquired roots, including those borrowed from Arabic, as well as the class 2 verb roots. In the examples cited here it is clear that the prefix is made up of k plus in some cases an apparently epenthetic vowel which may harmonize with the vowels of the stem to which it is applied; in other cases the prefix may be of the structure CVC, made up of k plus a vowel followed by a sonorant consonant, either r or a homorganic nasal. Since n (a homorganic nasal) is recognized as another important formative prefix in tbe lexicon, the picture is clouded with regard to the exact structure of the k+ prefixing syllable. As mentioned above, there may have historically been several different prefixes with initial k. In the majority of cases, the prefix applies to underlying stems of the structure CVC/V. It has been observed (see p. 27) that words formed in this way are characteristically trisyllabic, and the most natural tone pattern which they assume is the L-H-L pattern. This characteristic tone pattern is clearly not realized in many of the examples cited here. Nevertheless, since so little evidence has been provided of this process, whenever there is a clear or even a slight semantic relation between a stem and a k+ prefixed nominal, it has been included here for the purpose of documentation of this process.

2.1. The Formation of the Possessive Pronouns. The possessive pronouns of Kanuri are clearly derived from the possessive suffixes through the process of k+ prefixation, and represent perhaps the most consistent, paradigmatically complete application of the process that can be documented in the language today. The possessive suffixes are clearly monosyllabic, and bear an underlying high tone. In the following possessive pronoun derivations, the medial high tone syllable may be the result of epenthesis for the purpose of attaining the characteristic trisyllabic pattern, or it could be the applied extension morpheme +kə+ which has totally weakened in this intervocalic environment. The stem of the first person singular form is suppletive, and probably represents the occurrence of the first person singular subject morpheme +k+, which is apparent in all 1S finite verb forms.

	possessive suffix		possessive pronoun		
1S	+nyí	*my*	*kà+gə́+kè	kàkkê	*mine*
2S	+nə́m	*your*	*kà+gə́+nə̀m	kàánə̀m	*yours*
3S	+nzə́	*his/her*	*kà+gə́+nzə̀	kàánzə̀	*his/hers*
1P	+ndé	*our*	*kà+gə́+ndè	kàándè	*ours*
2P	+ndó	*your*	*kà+gə́+ndò	kàándò	*yours*
3P	+nzá	*their*	*kà+gə́+nzà	kàánzà	*theirs*

It is important to note that the final low tone of the characteristic L-H-L tone pattern alters the underlying high tone of the possessive suffix.

2.2. The Formation of the Ordinal Numbers. The ordinal numbers are formed from the cardinal numbers through the prefixation of kə́n+ and the suffixation of +mì. This certainly represents an environment in which k+ prefixation is productive, since it can be applied infinitely. Perhaps due to its cooccurrence in this process with the derivative suffix +mi, the characteristic tone pattern is not apparent in the derived ordinal numbers which of course vary greatly in number of syllables as well. With regard to lexical category, the derived ordinal numbers are nouns.

cardinal number		ordinal number	
tìló	*one*	kə́ntílómì	*the first*
ìndí	*two*	kə́nándímì	*the second*
yàkkə́	*three*	kə́nyákkə̀mì	*the third*
dégə̀	*four*	kə́ndégə̀mì	*the fourth*
úwù	*five*	kə́núwùmì	*the fifth*

àràkkə́	*six*	kə́nárákkə́mì	*the sixth*
túlùr	*seven*	kə́ntúlùrmì	*the seventh*
wùskú	*eight*	kə́nwúskúmì	*the eighth*
lə̀gár	*nine*	kə́nlə̀gármì	*the ninth*
mèwú	*ten*	kə́nmèwúmì	*the tenth*

2.3. Nominals Derived from Class 1 Verb Roots. It has been observed that all class 1 verbs have a low tone verbal noun composed of the root and sometimes a final vowel, and that some class 1 verbs also have a k+ prefixed derived nominal form which in most cases bears the L-H-L tone pattern (see p. 27). Though recent treatments of Kanuri grammar have considered the two forms of the verbal noun to be of the same lexical category, it is likely that given our knowledge of k+ prefixation as a nominalizing process, there are in fact major lexical and syntactic differences between the two forms (see ch. 15: The Nonfinite Forms of the Verb). The prefixed form for the class 1 verb whose root is bù+ *eat* for example (kə̀mbû) has both a gerundive-like verbal noun meaning *(eating)* and has also a deverbal nominal meaning *(food)*. In no observed case has the non-prefixed form of a class 1 verbal noun taken on the deverbal nominal meaning in this way.

Of the slightly more than one hundred class 1 verbs known to us in the Yerwa dialect of Kanuri, approximately one fifth of them have attested, k-prefixed derived noun forms (see ch. 15; appendix 1 (p. 327). Nearly one quarter of them (some of which overlap with the first fifth) have additional attested k-prefixed nominals which are semantically deverbal and which contain the class 1 root. The members of this latter class of derived nominals have varying tone patterns and morphological structures, no consistent final syllable structure, and thus are clearly not, for both morphological and semantic reasons, instances of the regular k-prefixed nominal with characteristic L-H-L tone pattern.

In some of these deverbal derived nominals, another formative affix (+sə+/+zə+) also plays a role in their structure. This affix occurs as the medial syllable in trisyllabic nominals, between the k+ prefix and the final verb root. When this morpheme does occur in nominals derived from a CVC/V root, it appears that in some cases the trisyllabic constraint may essentially take priority over the complete manifestation of the verb root in the derived nominal, and the final C or CV of the verb root may be dropped to guard the trisyllabic structure. It is possible that the formative affix +sə+ sometimes voiced to +zə+, may be related to the third person subject morpheme s, which is apparent in all third person verb forms of the language. Its role as a formative prefix in its own right is examined on p. 83.

In the following examples, only those class 1 verb roots are represented that have either the k-prefixed derived nominal usually with L-H-L tone pattern (indicated by a), or the more irregular k-prefixed deverbal nominal (indicated by b).

class 1 verb root		*k-prefixed nominals* (a/b)
bá+	*mount*	a kə̀mbâ *mounting; horseback festival*
bù+	*eat*	a kə̀mbû *eating; food*
dí+	*do*	a kə̀ndó *doing; deed*
gá+	*follow*	a kə̀ngâ *following*
ɬì+	*learn, get used to*	a kə̀ɬó *learning*
mù+	*put on, wear*	a kə̀mû *putting on*; b kàzə́mù *clothes*
rù+	*see*	a kùrû *seeing*
tà+	*grab, seize*	a kə̀ntâ *grabbing, seizing*
		[illegible]ə́ntà *possession, belonging*

tí+	*be equal/sufficient*	a kə̀ntô *being equal to/sufficient*
búr+	*migrate*	b kàzúwúrò *migration*
dùr+	*fall (of rain)*	b kúndúró *rainfall*
fár+	*slander*	b kàsùwá *gossip*
gánt+	*possess, acquire*	b kə̀ngántì *possession, acquisition*
kàs+	*run*	b kàsô *running; flight, escape (-prefix)*
kə́nd+	*tie baby on back*	a kə̀gə̀ndô *tying baby on back*
lànd+	*shake, churn*	a kə̀làndò *shaking, churning*
mèr+	*recover*	b kàsə́mé *recovery*
nót+	*commission, wield*	b kàtùnó *message* kə̀ntúwò *power*
ràg+	*like, love*	b kə̀ráwó *love*
rə̀nd+	*hurt, ache*	b kàsə̀rə́ndò *pain*
rínd+	*get tired waiting*	b kàsìríndò *fatigue from waiting*
sàw+	*winnow*	b kàsáwò *winnowing*
yá+	*drink*	a kə̀nzâ *drinking*
yí+	*give*	a kə̀njô *giving; gift*
yàmb+	*bear, give birth to*	b kə̀nyámbí/kə̀nzámbí *giving birth*
tàmb+	*(III of* yàmb+*)*	b kə̀támbí/kə̀ntámbí *birth, being born*
yàsə̀rá+	*cough*	b kàságə́ *cough*
yìmbàr+	*get tired*	b kàsə̀mbá *fatigue*
bàf+	*ripen*	b kə̀mbáfí *invulnerability*
də̀gá+	*live*	a kə̀ndə́gà *living*
		b kə̀ndə́gài *royal reception room*
ís+	*come*	a kə̀nshê/kə̀nshô, kə̀ndê *coming; arrival*
nú+	*die*	a kə̀rmû *dying; death*
tàd+	*meet one another*	a kàtàdô *meeting one another*
tìyèr+	*fail to do*	b kə̀ntérí *failure*

2.4. k+ Prefixed Nominals Derived from Class 2 Verb Roots. It is commonly agreed that verb class 2 is the younger of the verb classes of Kanuri. It is the open class of verbs into which borrowed roots have entered, and through which new verbs may be created for new needs (see p.102). According to the present analysis, all of the examples presented here represent instances of k+ prefixation to underlying class 2 verb roots. It will be observed that the resulting derived nominals vary greatly with regard to their phonological and morphological relation to the proposed underlying source. Semantically as well, there is considerable variation in the relations between source and derived nominal. This variance is perhaps a reflection of the fact that k+ prefixation applied over a long period of time at different stages in the growth and development of verb class 2.

class 2 verb root		*k+ prefixed nominal*	
bè+	*instruct, guide*	káwé	*advice to girl getting married*
bə́bə́t+	*smell good*	kàwúdì/kàwə́dwə́dì	*perfume*
bə̀lé+	*get s.o. drunk, lead astray*	kàwə́lè	*ecstasy; going astray of religion*
dál+	*dye, soak*	kádâl	*water for soaking millet to whiten* *commit infanticide*
dám+	*flow, trickle*	kádám	*water from spring or well source*
dú+	*drive/chase away*	kádú+	*chase, pursue*
		kàdû	*path*
		kàdúwù	*descendants*
		kadui	*tail*
kâl	*node of stalk/reed*	kàngálè	*corn/millet stalk*
kól+/kólkól+	*tap sharply*	kòngólì	*insolent person; sharp tap on head with knuckles of clenched fist*

kúl+	*get fat*	kùngûl	*gaining weight*
kùrnò+/kùnnò+	*III be happy*	kàngúrnò	*pleasure, joy*
lálá+	*winnow by pouring*	kàlálà/ka̋llà	*noise*
làwù+	*comb, preen, rake*	kàláwù	*gleanings*
láwú+	*pick, pluck*		
lélé+	*be sweet*	kə̀lélè	*happy event*
lə̀m+	*become late at night*	kə̀lmə́skə̀	*darkness*
lə̀k+	*rot*	kàlíwù	*bad odor*
lə́p+	*thread, string, create*	kùlûm	*ring*
		kə̀lî	*green, raw, fresh, wet*
lí+	*grow*	kə̀líwú	*mold, rust, moisture, mildew*
		kúlò	*farm, field*
lílím+	*itch*	kàlímlìmì	*an itch*
màr+	*II+III 2S/P please! (polite insistence)*	kə̀mâr	*restraint, patient courage*
mbá+	*float*	kàmbâi	*light (in weight)*
mbə́l+	*struggle, wrestle*	kàmbə́lì	*wrestling*
mə̀k+	*apply heat (e.g. to body)*	kə̀mə́gə̀	*humidity*
nàshín+	*dream*	kə̀náshìn	*dream*
ndə́p+	*knot, tie*	kə̀ndə́wú	*joint, node*
nə̀k+	*fill* shaduf *basket or leather bucket by shaking at bottom of well*	kə̀nə́gə̀	*low spot, valley/dip where water collects in rainy season*
ngə́k+/ngúk+	*hate, despise*	kàngúí	*hatred*
njík+	*rip/tear off piece of*	kə̀njígə̀	*recently acquired possession*
njès+	*forget*	kàngésə́	*forgetfulness*
núk+	*utter/make a sound*	kúnúkkúnúk	*hidden meaning*
núnúk+	*talk secretly*		
njímâl+	*sympathize with*	kànjímàlí	*sympathy, pity*
nzə́t+	*wring/squeeze/press out*	kə́nzə́n	*fat oily part of anything*
nzók+	*pick/chip/snap off*	kùzók	*small chip or bit of kola nut*
njúnó+	*pity*	kànjúnò	*pity*
ré+	*split, divide, halve*	kàrérè	*spine*
rə̀k+	*prepare and tie 2-sided load*	kə̀rə́gə̀	*rope for tying 2-sided load*
rə́k+	*flex, tighten (a muscle); III bear down, grunt*	kàrə́gə̀	*heart*
sàr+	*line up, order*	kàsâr	*room-dividing curtain*
sə̀r+	*step aside*	kúsùr	*lane or foot path*
shìmò+	*guide, direct*	kàshímò	*guide, instructions, directions*
sótó+	*receive a guest*	kùsótò	*guest, stranger, foreigner*
tùs+	*rest, spent/pass time*	kùntúshì	*rest*
yé+	*sing*	ka̋iyá	*song*
yìn+	*breathe*	ka̋inò	*odor, smell*
yín+	*smell, sniff*		
		kàzáà	*spear*
zá+	*beat, tap, pound, beat*	kə̀zâ	*dance in which dangling metal and leather is worn on waist and legs*
		kázákàzà	*gourd rattle*
zə́k+	*annoy, worry, rush, provoke*	kàzə́gí	*rush, urgent matter*
zò+	*decorate by engraving*	kázó	*burned calabash decoration*
zú+	*push*	kàzû	*load of beast of burden; pack animal; sth to boast of*

2.5. k+ Prefixed Nominals Derived from Lexical Sources. Most of the prefixed nominals presented here are derived from lexical nouns. As was the case with the nominals presented in 2.4 above, here also the form and meaning of the relations proposed here vary greatly.

lexical source		*k+ prefixed nominal*	
bígə̀	*sin*	kàmbígə̀	*quarrel*
bígə́lá	*harvest*	kə̀mbígə́là	*harvest time*
bìské	*game, amusement, play*	kàwə́skè	*celebration, dance*
bə́nè	*trouble*	kàwə́nè	*sorrow, suffering*
dùwùlí	*buttocks*	kúdúwùlì	*bone at back above buttocks*
ìndí	*two*	kənándì	*title of Talba, 2nd to king*
lámbó/lámbí	*concern, need*	kə̀lámbó	*need for food*
+máskí	*neighboring*		
bə̀làmáskí	*neighboring town*	kə̀máskí	*neighbor*
ngùròmáskí	*neighboring ward*		
mbə́rshè	*strength, solidity*	kàmbə́rshè	*trust*
nádì	*purpose, expressness*	kànádí	*patience*
nádìn	*on purpose*		
nágə̀	*nut of desert date fruit; kernel, crux (proverbial)*	kənágə́/kənáwú	*pregnancy; woman who has recently conceived*
nə́ngà	*cunning, alertness*	kə́nə́ngà	*state of good health/alertness*
ngə́lì	*penis*	kə́ngə́l	*milk of animal that has given birth; semen*
ngə́ríwù	*bastard*	kəngə́rì	*miser*
ngə́rìn	*KBU poor*		
+nyí	*(neg suffix)*	gənyí	*it is not*
sàngí	*shaking/wiggling legs*	gàsáng/gàsàngí	*shaking top foot (crossed legs)*
súsù	*stead, replacement*	kùsúsù	*groom's female rep. at wedding*
tígə̀	*body*	kàttígə̀	*skin*
búné	*night*	kə́mbúné	*night-time*
də́ndì	*sick*	kùndə́ndì	*sickness*

2.6. k+ Prefixed Nominals from Arabic Borrowings. The following derived nominals contain originally Arabic stems to which k+ prefixing has applied either as they originally entered the language, or as they occur elsewhere in Kanuri. Thus some of the sources indicated are transliterations of the original Arabic word, and others are Kanuricized versions of originally Arabic stems.

Arabic/Kanuri-Arabic source		*k+ prefixed nominal*	
(al)' adu	*enemy*	kə̀ládò	*enemy*
afia	*well*	kə̀léfà/kə̀léwà	*well*
lèfà+	*greet*		
àsàl+	*hurry, rush*	kàsálì	*impatience, rush*
gàlá+	*advise, counsel*	kàálà	*advice; royal title*
gálìwù	*rich*	kəngálìwù	*wealth*
gùl+	*say*	?kàwúlì	*speech, talk*
nàsàr+	*III be victorious*	kənásàr	*victory*
(al)naum	*sleep*	kənə̀m	*sleep; KBU= night*
(al)nur	*fire*	kánnú	*fire*
(al)gamal	*camel*	kàlìímò	*camel*
(al)suq	*market*	kàsúwù	*market*
(al)zina	*fornication, adultery*	kə́nzə́nà	*fornication, adultery*

2.7. k+ Prefixed Nominals with Tubu Cognates. The following small set of examples represent those k+ prefixed nominals of Kanuri which have a non-prefixed cognate counterpart in the sister Saharan languages Teda and Daza (often referred to as Tubu). It is likely that these examples represent only the tip of the iceberg. It is likely that this is an area which will be fruitful for future research.

Tubu		*k+ prefixed nominal*	
ágəli/egəli	*anvil*	kágə́l	*anvil*
alé/elé	*thorn*	kàlgî/kàlíì	*thorn*
amo/amma	*person*	kâm	*person*
érdí/írdí	*devil, pagan*	kə́rdì	*pagan, non-Muslim*
medú/meti	*this year*	kə́mə́ndè	*this year*

3. The Formative Prefix n+. n+ prefixation is another of the historical word formative processes of Kanuri which is no longer productive in the language. As is the case with words formed through k+ prefixation, similarly with n+ prefixation, the n+ prefix is no longer separable from the underlying stem to which it has been applied in many of its occurrences.

In the first set of examples considered here, the inseparable prefix n+ carries with it a high tone on whatever vowel follows. Words of this structure all have abstract meanings, and also have a counterpart which is derived through the inseparable k+ prefix. In the second set of examples, the prefix n+ is shown to have been applied to a great variety of proposed underlying forms resulting in a great variety of derived n+ prefixed forms. In the latter subsection there are many questionable pairs presented since this is a process which has yet to be fully documented and substantiated.

3.1. Abstract Nominals Derived through n+ Prefixation. On p. 55, the synchronically productive prefix nə̀m+ was shown to be a consistently productive formative of abstract nominals, usually derived through application to an adjectival noun. In its application, the prefix nə̀m+ was shown not to affect the tone pattern of the noun to which it is applied.

Within the Kanuri lexicon there exists another much smaller group of abstract nominals apparently formed through n+ prefixation, and representative of a no longer productive morphological process. It appears to be related semantically to the synchronically productive nə̀m+, and yet phonologically it does seem to carry a high tone with it, affecting the first vowel or epenthetic vowel resulting from its application.

When the prefix n+ was productive as a word formative in Kanuri, it must have functioned as the counterpart in word formation of k+ prefixation. Many of the abstract nominals with the n+ prefix have a counterpart noun or adjectival noun which bears the k+ prefix as a formative. A good example of this is the originally Arabic lèfâ+ *greet*, with the k+ prefixed kə̀léfà/kə̀léwà *well, healthy*, and the abstract nominal nə́léfà *health*. The synchronically derived counterpart involves nə̀m+ prefixation to the k+ prefixed form, and produces nə̀mkə̀léwà *wellness, being in good health*, also abstract in meaning and nearly synonymous to the n+ prefixed form.

k+ prefixed counterpart		*n+ prefixed nominal*	
áshì *Ar*	*obstinate*	náshì	*obstinacy*
kâm	*person*	nâm	*being a person; LUK: tractableness of woman of good character*
kámú	*woman, wife*	námú	*womanhood*
káawù	*stupid*	náawù	*stupidity*
kə̀jî	*sweet, delicious*	nə́jì	*sweetness, delight*
kə̀léwà/kə̀léfà	*well, healthy*	nə́léfà	*health*
kə̀lî ngə́lí	*wet, green, raw, fresh* *year (by rainy season)*	nə́ngə́lí	*rainy season*
kə̀ndə́lì	*jealous*	nə́ndə́lì	*jealousy*

kə́njì	*slave*	nə́njì	*slavery*
kə̀mbə́rshè	*trust*	námə́rshè	*trustworthiness*
kə́mbù	*blind*	nə́mbù	*blindness*
kə́rdì	*non-Muslim, pagan*	nə́rdì	*being a non-Muslim*
kə̀skê	*unimportant, easy*	nə́skè	*relief, improved health*
kərê	*generous*	nə́rè	*generosity*
kə́wúná/kə́gə́ná	*courtier, servant*	nə́wúná/nə́gə́ná	*servile behavior*
kǎigə̀/kǎiwù	*fearful, cowardly*	náigə̀/náiwù	*fear, cowardice*
kwângâ	*man*	nángà	*manhood*

3.2. Other Examples of the n+ Prefix as a Lexical Formative. Much of the material presented here is admittedly speculative, and provided mainly for the linguist who may be interested in historical morphological processes. In some cases the proposed relations are quite clear and traceable; in others which have been arrived at mainly through intuition, the relations may be quite questionable. The body of data presented here does however document the hypothesis that the prefix n+ has played a very important role in the formation of Kanuri words. In certain of the examples it appears that a prefix ng+(V)+ has been applied. It is likely that this represents a combination of the n+ prefix and the k+ prefix. In some examples it appears that the n+ prefix is the counterpart of the k+ prefix as in 3.1 above, though the same semantic relationship does not apply.

proposed source		*n+ prefixed form*	
+gǎi	*like, as*	ngái	*thus*
gál+	*sharpen edge by pounding*	ngálngàl	*collar bone*
gə̀p+	*throw out*	ngə́bdə́/ngə̀bdə̀lá	*garbage heap*
gə̀wát+	*step on*		
gə́wàdə̀	*step, fɔot (length)*	ngə́wádò	*scar*
gəwado	*bunion, callous*		
gùl+	*say*	ngûl	*payment to a malam*
gùlû	*exaggeration*	ngúlú	*professional talker who heaps flattering praise*
kájí	*he has opened it*	ngájì	*coarse flour of grains cracked open on stone*
kàájì	*incense*	ngàjíyà	*incense burner*
		ngáyà	*earthen baking container*
kə́mə́s+	*squeeze, knead, wring*	ngímə́s+	*wink*
kúl+	*get fat*	ngúl+	*hide, conceal*
kûr	*wooden mortar*	ngûr	*testicles, scrotum*
kə́lò	*small round clay pot*	ngə́ló	*sexual organs*
kə́r+	*wrap up*	ngə́rgə̀	*leather bag*
kə́rgə̀	*leather grain sack*		
rə́k+	*flex (muscle); III grunt, bear down*	ngə̀rə́gə̀	*excrement of camel, sheep, goat; LUK* ngárgə̀ *dung of camel, goat, sheep*
tə́làm	*tongue*	ndə́làm	*desire, craving*
kàjîm	*grass*	njîm	*grass hut*
kúm+	*shave*	ngûm	*forehead*
yi *TUB*	*water*	njî	*water*
sámùn	*alike, similar*	nzámùn	*alike, similar*
wúl+	*scrape/pick off*	ngə́wə́l	*egg*
kúwúl+	*shell, peel, skin*		

4. The Formative Prefix s+. s+ prefixation appears to represent another of the historical word formative processes of Kanuri which is no longer productive in the language. Most of the examples of this process which are presented here involve application of this process to class 1 verb roots. Earlier, in discussing nominals derived from class 1 verb roots through k+ prefixation, it was noted on page 77 that a formative affix (+sə+/+zə+) often accompanied the k+ prefix in the formation of certain of the non-verbal (b) nominals presented there. It was there speculated that this affix may be related to the 3S subject morpheme s+. It is possible that these may be instances of the occurrence of the same formative affix, occurring here as a prefix, and that the two processes are in fact related. On page 71, a group of nominals were presented with the finite 3S verb emphasis completive form as their proposed source. If the proposed source is correct, then by definition all such nominals incorporate the 3S subject morpheme s+. Among the examples presented here are those which resemble these examples proposed as coming from verb emphasis completive forms on page 71 where most of the examples came from class 2 verb roots. The process described here may therefore represent an older version of the same process, as it applied to the roots of verb class 1.

Among the examples presented here are again those that are quite speculative, included here for the purpose of thoroughness and documentation.

source		*s+ prefixed nominal, etc.*	
bù+	*eat*	zə́wú	*mastery of entire Holy Koran*
búr+	*move, migrate*	zùwùrò	*migration*
gàná	*small, little*	sə́nàná	*pl small, little*
gánt+	*possess, acquire*	səganti	*possession*
gə̀dí	*source, east*	sə́gdí	zana -*mat fence*
gə̀p+	*cl 1 throw*	sə́gə́p+	*cl 1 adjust or shift a load up on one's back*
lìw+	*protect*	səlifo	*protection*
mánà	*talk, speech*	sə̀mánà	*chatting, conversation*
mbàr+/yìmbàr+	*get tired*	sə̀mbà+	*cl 1 become weak*
mèr+	*recover, get well*	sə̀mérò	*recovery*
gə́ré+	*cl 1 compare, put side by side*	sə̀gə̀rì+	*cl 1 move to back or edge*
nàt+	*sow, plant*	sə́nátó	*first millet shoots*
nyè+	*herd, pasture (animals)*	sə́nyé/sə́nyí	*herder's profession*
rə̀mb+	*pay back, reimburse*	sə́rə̀m	*reimbursement*
rə̀nd+	*hurt, ache*	sə́rə̀n	*pain*
yàrgàl+	*breed, raise*	sargalo/sargali	*raising, bringing up*
yìrgá+	*increase*	sə́rgà/sə́rgài	*increment, increase*
wùr+	*cl 1 break/knock down*	súwúr+	*cl 1 partially break down*

SECTION IV: THE VERB

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CHAPTER 11: INTRODUCTION TO THE VERB SYSTEM

1. Introduction. The typology of the finite verb form of Kanuri was introduced in chapter 2. There the synthetic or agglutinative quality of the verb form was demonstrated with the example Nzə̀kkə̀làdə́kìnbâ. *I will not sell (it) to you.*, showing that the finite verb form carries all of the required inflectional morphemes like person, number, tense/aspect, and as well, the optional derivational morphemes like those of causation, negation, and reflexivization. The structure of the finite verb form, combined with the SOV typological order of the language as a whole, combine as perhaps the most difficult aspects of the language for the student. The speaker of English and most other Indo-European languages will always want to include a sentence initial personal pronoun when speaking Kanuri. Under most circumstances this is wrong since the subject pronoun is always carried inflectively in the finite verb form. Similarly, one will always want to put objects and adverbials after the finite verb form. This too is typologically impossible since the verb is always in final position in the Kanuri sentence. It is for reasons like these and others that so much importance is given to the treatment of the verb and the verb system in the present work.

It is the purpose of this chapter to acquaint both the student of spoken Kanuri and the linguist with the basic aspects of the verb system, all of which will be fully elaborated in the various chapters of this unit. The entire unit is designed basically to deal with all of the morphological aspects of the verb form and the verb system. Thus great emphasis is placed on the order and arrangement of the inflectional morphemes. The derivational morphology of the verb form which may even include the affixation of objects within the verb, dictates that certain aspects of the syntax of the verb system also be introduced at various points in this unit.

2. The Syntax of the Verbal Sentence. The typological categorization of Kanuri as an SOV language (see ch. 2) is made in recognition of the basic order of the major constituents in the verbal sentence. SOV represents the most natural and commonly occurring order of the declarative sentence.

S O V
Ǻlì Músàà lèfàwónò. *Ali greeted Musa.*

**S V O*
*Ǻlì lèfàwónò Músàà.

**V S O*
*Lèfàwónò Ǻlì Músàà.

In the following acceptable variant of the above example, notice that the order of the elements preceding the verb has been reversed so that the direct object precedes the subject. It is apparent that in this variant the subject is obligatorily marked by a postposition indicating its status and function. Postpositional marking of major constituents is the subject of Ch. 22, of oblique constituents, ch. 29. These examples, like those only introduced here, are considered in detail there.

O S V
Músàà Ǻlìyè lèfàwónò. *ALI greeted Musa.*

**O V S*
*Músàà lèfàwónò Ǻlìyè.

**V O S*
*Lèfàwónò Músàà Ǻlìyè.

As this example demonstrates and as will be seen elsewhere, there is a great deal of freedom in the language with regard to the order of the elements preceding the sentence final verb form. However, as clearly shown above, in most environments nothing may follow the finite verb form. Violations of the SOV order do sometimes occur when the action of the verb is in some way emphasized in the semantic context of the utterance. For example in imperative sentences it is frequently the case that the verb form precedes all other constituents.

The order of the elements preceding the verb, i.e. the subject, the direct and indirect objects, adverbs, etc., is determined by the meaning intended by the speaker. All variations on the typologically predicted orders will be reflected in a change in meaning. For example the variant form of the above example Músȁȁ Álȉyè lèfȁwónȍ. may also be translated into English by the passive translation *Musa was greeted by Ali*. Oblique adverbial constituents vary in position more freely than any other of the constituents preceding the verb. All of the meaning variations resulting from order changes like those depicted below are not always easily reflected in translation into English.

O ADV V Shíȁ kȁsúwȕlȁn cȕrúkȍ.	*I saw him/her in the market.*
ADV O V Kȁsúwȕlȁn shíȁ cȕrúkȍ.	*I saw him/her in the market.* *or In the market I saw him/her.*

The most natural position for oblique constituents is that represented in the first form of the above sentence, i.e. (S)-O-ADV-V.

3. The Two Verb Classes. Kanuri essentially has two verb classes which correspond to similar verb groupings in other Saharan languages. What are here referred to as class 1 and class 2 of Kanuri verbs, correspond to Lukas' (1953) class 2 and class 3 of Tubu verbs. Within verb class 1 of Kanuri, there remain several verbs which do not have the same characteristics of the rest of the class and these can be shown to be the Kanuri correspondents of certain of the class 1 verbs of Tubu. For the purposes of this work however, we will only refer to class 1 and class 2 of Kanuri verbs, and will single out those idiosyncratic verbs within the class when appropriate.

Kanuri verb classes 1 and 2 differ with regard to morphological makeup. The verb form of the older class 1 is actually made up of fewer morphemes than that of its class 2 counterpart. Compare the following 1S forms in the imperfect aspect.

verb class 1		*verb class 2*	
*bȕ+k+ȉn ›búkȉn	*I eat*	*lè+n+k+ȉn ›lȅngîn	*I go*

It is apparent that the class 1 form is made up of three morphemes, and the class 2 form, of four morphemes. In the comparable 3S forms, note that the verb forms differ not only with regard to number of morphemes, but also with regard to the order of the morphemes.

verb class 1		*verb class 2*	
*s+bȕ+ȉn ›zə́wȉn	*s/he eats*	*lè+s+n+ȉn ›lèjîn	*s/he goes*

The morpheme +n+ in the class 2 forms is in fact a class 1 verb root of a verb meaning *say, think*. It is this class 1 verb which inflects or conjugates all of the verbs of class 2. Therefore all of the roots of class 2 were not originally verbal, but have become verbs of Kanuri through juxtaposition to and accretion with the finite verb forms of this class 1 verb. Thus though lè+ is for all practical purposes to be considered a class 2 verb root in synchronic Kanuri, it originally came to this function from a non-verbal origin. In the 1S forms above, it is apparent that the class 1 roots bù+ and n+ precede the 1S subject morpheme +k+. In the 3S forms however, the 3S subject morpheme s precedes the verb root in the class 1 form, and precedes the class 1 verb root n+ for the class 2 verb form, but does not precede the class 2 verb root lè+ in this latter form. This explains the apparent difference in the order of the morphemes between the 3S forms of each class. Thus the extra morpheme in the class 2 verb form is the originally non-verbal stem which has become a class 2 root.

Once the student of Kanuri is aware of these basic differences between the two verb classes, then all other differences will be readily understandable. Verb class 1 is a fixed class of verbs numbering less than 150. Thus the Kanuri verb system has grown historically through class 2 where almost any lexical item can take on the role of class 2 verb root. No new verbs may be added to class 1. In ch. 12 the stems functioning as class 2 roots will be grouped according to proposed source, to demonstrate the kinds of elements that have taken on this verbal function.

4. Morphemes Making up the Basic Finite Verb Form. The word *basic* is here used to refer to a finite verb form containing only those morphemes which are obligatorily part of every autonomous finite verb form, thus excluding all derivational morphemes and others indicating various syntactic relations in a sentence. Every finite verb form must contain a verb root, and must be fully inflected for 1) person of the subject, 2) number of the subject, and 3) tense/aspect. The inflection for the person of the subject is not simply a morpheme indicating person agreement, but rather is a subject pronoun carried within the finite verb form. When the subject of any sentence is a pronoun and is in no way questioned, focused or emphasized, then it is only manifested inside of the verb form and not independently in the typologically predicted sentence initial position of the SOV language. Therefore the 1S imperfect form of the verb lè+ *go* which is lȅngín constitutes a complete sentence meaning *I go/am going/ will go*. Likewise lèngə́nà, the 1S perfect form of the same verb constitutes a sentence meaning *I have gone*.

The basic finite verb form carries at least the following morphemes.

root	*subject*	*tense/aspect*	*surface*	*meaning*	*person*
*bù+	+k+	+ìn	ʾbúkìn	*I eat*	*1S*
*bù+	+m+	+ìn	ʾbúmìn	*you eat*	*2S*
*bù+	+y+	+ìn	ʾbúiyèn	*we eat*	*1P*
*bù+	+w+	+ì	ʾbúwì	*you (pl) eat*	*2P*

subject		*root*	*tense/aspect*			
PRS	*NUM*					
*s+	Ø	bù+	+ìn	ʾzə́wìn	*s/he eats*	*3S*
*s+	a	bù+	+ìn	ʾzáwìn	*they eat*	*3P*

Therefore for the above class 1 verb, there are at least three different morpheme positions in every finite verb form, and in certain cases four, as in the 3P form above where person and number morphemes are distinct. From the earlier discussion in 3 of the verb classes, it is evident that for the class 2 basic verb form there is one additional morpheme position.

4.1. Basic and Derived Finite Verb Forms. There are nine different tense/aspects of the verb in Kanuri, and in addition, five other moods and non-aspects of the verb. Thus a basic finite verb form may potentially occur in fourteen different forms, in each person. In addition to the obligatory inflectional morphemes that make up the basic finite verb form as described above, there are other derivational morphemes which may be incorporated in and carried by the synthetic verb form. Considering the basic form (à la Lukas, 1937) as I, then the four derived forms are: II applied form, III passive-reflexive form, IV causative form, and V reduplicated form. While not every verb has complete paradigms that are used for every possible derived form, most verbs occur commonly in more than one of the derivational forms, and some even in all four. This means for example that for the 1S of any verb there are potentially seventy different forms, one for the basic form and for each of the four derived forms in the fourteen different aspects etc. of the language. This figure excludes the possible compound derived forms where more than one of these derivational processes combine in a finite verb form.

The formation, meaning and use of the various derived forms are discussed in detail in ch. 14. Nevertheless, the many possible forms of the class 2 verb fə́lé+ *point out, indicate, show* in the 3S are shown here.

aspect etc.	*I point out, indicate*	*II show to*	*III be shown*	*IV have shown*	*V show repeatedly*
imperfect	fə́léjìn	fə́lézə̀gìn	fə́létìn	yìtà+II	fə̀lè+I
neg imperfect	fə́léjìnbâ	fə́lézə̀gìnbâ	fə́létìnbâ	yìtà+II	fə̀lè+I
future	fə́lézònò	fə́léjìwò	fə́létàtə̀	yìtà+II	fə̀lè+I
neg future	fə́lézânnyí	fə́léjìgə̀nnyí	fə́létàtə̀nnyí	yìtà+II	fə̀lè+I
perfect	fə́lézə́nà	fə́lézə́gə́nà	fə́létə̀nà	yìtà+II	fə̀lè+I
past	fə́léwònò	fə́lézə̀wò	fə́légàtə̀	yìtà+II	fə̀lè+I
noun emph	fə́lézò	fə́lézə̀wò	fə́létò/ə̀	yìtà+II	fə̀lè+I
verb emph	fə́léjí	fə́lézə́gí	fə́létí	yìtà+II	fə̀lè+I
neg completive	fə́lézə̀nyí	fə́lézə̀gə̀nyí	fə́létə̀nyí	yìtà+II	fə̀lè+I
subjunctive	fə́lézə́	fə́lézə́gə́	fə́létə́	yìtà+II	fə̀lè+I
neg subjunctive	wàndé fə́lézə̀nyí	wàndé fə́lézə̀gə̀nyí	wàndé fə́létə̀nyí	wàndé yìtà+II	wàndé fə̀lè+I
imperative	*= subj*	*= subj*	*= subj*	*= subj*	*= subj*
neg imperative	*= neg subj*	*= neg subj*	*= neg subj*	*= neg*	*= neg subj*
conjunctive	fə́lézə̀	fə́lézə̀gə̀	fə́létə̀	yìtà+II	fə̀lè+I

The relation between the subjunctive and the imperative moods is discussed on page 129. Of the compound derived forms of the verb, a number are possible with the verb fə́lé+. For example *II+III* fə́létə̀gìn *be shown to*, and even *II+III+IV* yìtàfə́létə̀gìn *have oneself shown to*, is also conceivable.

4.2. Object Morphemes as Affixes to the Finite Verb Form. In addition to the derivational morphemes which may be added to the basic finite verb form, morphemes indicating syntactic objects may also be incorporated in and carried by the verb. When these affixed morphemes are applied to the basic I form, a direct object is indicated. When they are applied to the applied II form, an indirect object is indicated. Explicit object morphemes exist for the first and second persons, singular and plural. The comparable third person forms are indicated by no overt morpheme, thus null. The morphemes involved are represented here.

	sing	*plur*		
1st person	s+	s+a+	’sa+	*me/we, us*
2nd person	nz+	nz+a+	’nza+	*you*
3rd person	∅	∅		

Thus the derivational schema can be represented as follows for examples of these forms involving the verb fə́lé+. Here the object morphemes are applied to the II applied form.

root	*object*	*II*	*aspect*		
fə́lé+	+s+	+gə̀+	+ìn	›fə́lésə̀gìn	*S/he shows (it) to me.*
fə́lé+	+sa+	+gə̀+	+ìn	›fə́lésàyìn	*S/he shows (it) to us.*
fə́lé+	+nz+	+gə̀+	+ìn	›fə́lénzə̀gìn	*S/he shows (it) to you.*
fə́lé+	+nza+	+gə̀+	+ìn	›fə́lénzàyìn	*S/he shows (it) to you (pl).*

The phonology and morphology of these verb forms carrying objects are discussed on p. 134. Their meaning and use are discussed in chapter 22.

5. The Nonfinite Verb Forms. A nonfinite verb form may be referred to as one which is not conjugated, or is not inflected with morphemes of person, number, and tense/aspect. The most common nonfinite verb form of Kanuri is the verbal noun, and it is shared by all of the verbs of the language. Some verbs have only one verbal noun, the majority have two, and a few verbs have as many as three. In the following examples, the first two verbs are class 1 verbs, the last two are class 2 verbs.

root	*verbal noun/s*	
bù+	bù, kə̀mbû	*eating*
yá+	yà, nzà, kə̀nzâ	*drinking*
lè+	lètə́	*going*
lé+	létə́, lètà	*touching*

The number of possible verbal nouns derivable from a given verb root is a function first, of the verb class to which the verb belongs, and second, of the phonological shape of the verb stem itself. At some point in the history of the language, whether a verb was transitive or intransitive may also have played a role in the number of verbal nouns possible for a given root.

The only other nonfinite verb form is unique to the verbs of class 2. It is an past participle form which is used very often as a modifier in the noun phrase. It is formed through the application of the suffix +kata to the class 2 verb root, as in the following examples.

root		*past participle*		
náp+	*sit down*	*náp+kàtə̀	›nápkàtà	*seated*
bə̀+	*lie down*	*bə̀+kátà	›bə̀wátà	*lying down*

CHAPTER 12: THE COMPOSITION OF THE VERB CLASSES

1. Introduction. It is the purpose of the present chapter to describe in detail the differences between the two classes of Kanuri verbs. Then, taking the classes one at a time, class 1 and class 2 will be broken down into proposed subgroupings according to phonological, morphological and in some cases semantic criteria. Different ways of breaking down the members of each group will be considered. Speculations on the origin and evolution of verb class 2 will be presented.

2. The Differences between Class 1 and Class 2. Of the two verb classes, class 1 has been referred to as the *irregular* class, and class 2 as the *regular* class. The classes are clearly distinct with regard to the order in which the inflectional morphemes occur within their respective finite verb forms, as described on page 90. They also differ greatly in size, class 1 being a closed class and class 2 an open class. They cannot however be distinguished on the basis of any general semantic or syntactic considerations, though certain of the subgroups within each class may be based on such considerations. Lukas (1937) and others that followed him, have come to refer to the two classes according to the characteristic 1S imperfect verb form of each class. In this way the class 1 verbs have come to be referred to as the verbs in skin or kin, and the class 1 verbs as the verbs in ngin [ŋin]. This is apparent in the following imperfect paradigms.

	cl 1/skin: eat	*cl 1/skin: say, think*	*cl 2/ngin: go*
1S	búkìn	ngìn	lêngín
2S	búmìn	nə̀mìn	lènə́mìn
3S	zə́wìn	shìn	lèjín
1P	búiyèn	nyèn	lènyên
2P	búwì	nùwì	lènúwì
3P	záwìn	sài	lèzâi

The class 1 verb whose root is the consonant n+ *say, think* above, and which will hereafter be referred to as the verb ngin, is synchronically defective in this its independent use, since it does not today occur in all of the aspects of the verb. It is clear however in the above paradigm of its attested imperfect aspect forms, that all correspond exactly except for minor predictable phonological changes, with the inflectional endings of the imperfect aspect forms of the verb *go*, the inflectional endings being applied to its root lè+. Thus all of the class 2 verbs are in fact inflected or conjugated by the class 1 verb ngin, which in this its inflectional or bound morphological function does occur in all of the verbal aspects of the language, complete in every paradigm. In the first two of the above paradigms, the class 1 roots bù+ and n+ remain intact and phonologically unaltered throughout the first and second person forms. Because of the change in the order of the obligatory inflectional morphemes in the third person forms where the subject morphemes precede the class 1 root, there the roots are phonologically altered, even disappearing in the case of the root n+. This is not apparent in the class 2 paradigm since it is carried out within the inflectional suffixed forms of the verb ngin, and thus the class 2 root lè+ remains in initial position in all persons in the paradigm.

In class 2, the assignment of polar tone to the inflectional endings and consistently predictable phonological assimilation across the morpheme boundary between the class 2 root and the ngin inflections provide evidence that these elements have combined in totally accreted forms constituting words, i.e. finite verb forms, of equivalent status with their class 1 counterparts. This is verified semantically as well since the verb ngin as inflector, no longer carries its original meaning *say, think*.

Given this situation where a class 1 verb inflects all of the verbs of class 2, then it can be said that historically, class 1 verbs represent the only true verbs of the language. In this light, all the members of class 2 would represent compounds, made up of a formerly non-verbal element to which the forms of the verb ngin are affixed. Thus for the 2S form lènə́mìn, lè+ would be the non-verbal stem of the verb or the meaning bearer (cf Cyffer, 1974), n+ would be the true verb stem, +m+ the subject pronoun morpheme, and +ìn the imperfect aspect marker. However because the orientation of the present work is neither historical nor comparative, but rather pedagogical, and because of the total accretion described above, and in order to avoid any potential complication of an already complex situation, morphemes like class 2 lè+, will be referred to throughout the present work as *class 2 verb roots*. The citation form for class 2 roots will therefore not include the true root n+, as in e.g. lè+n+, but rather will always be written simply as e.g. lè+.

Class 2 is always growing. Borrowed stems and new verbs responding to modern needs all become class 2 verbs. Since virtually any lexical item can be altered to the function of class 2 root, the class is literally infinite. Class 1 on the other hand is fixed. One cannot make up a new class 1 verb. There can be little doubt that class 1 represents the older of the two classes. Today the members of class 1 number less than 150. Evidence from other Saharan languages shows that verb class 1 is closely related to and limited to certain verb classes in those languages, which are also fixed in size.

2.1. The Position of Subject Morphemes in Class 1 and Class 2 Verb Forms.

The subject pronoun morphemes and the position in which they occur vis-a-vis the verb root for each class are represented schematically below. Remember that in relation to class 2, the position of the class 1 root represents the position of the root n+.

1S	*(cl 2 root)* +*cl 1 root*+k+	*1P*	*(cl 2 root)* +*cl 1 root*+y+
2S	*(cl 2 root)* +*cl 1 root*+m+	*2P*	*(cl 2 root)* +*cl 1 root*+w+
3S	*(cl 2 root)*+s+*cl 1 root*	*3P*	*(cl 2 root)*+s+a+*cl 1 root*

It is these morphemes which not only inflect the finite verb form for person and number of the subject, but also function as subject pronouns. Subject morphemes characteristically follow the verb root in the first and second persons, and precede the true verb root in the third person. Because of its originally non-verbal status and thus its relatively late incorporation into the verbal complex, the class 2 root always maintains its initial position. It is never preceded by any of the inflectional morphemes.

In the following derivational paradigms observe the basic imperfect aspect conjugations of the verbs *eat*, *say, think*, and *show*. Note that in the third person forms where the subject morphemes precede the verb root, the verb root n+ is deleted for the verbs *say, think* and *show*.

	class 2 root	*3S/P subject morpheme*	*class 1 root*	*1S/P & 2S/P subject morpheme*	*imperfect aspect morpheme*	*finite verb form*
cl 1: eat						
1S	-	-	bȕ+	+k+	+ȉn	búkȉn
2S	-	-	bȕ+	+m+	+ȉn	búmȉn
3S	-	s+	bȕ+	-	+ȉn	zə́wȉn
1P	-	-	bȕ+	+y+	+ȉn	búiyèn
2P	-	-	bȕ+	+w+	+ȉ	búwȉ
3P	-	s+a+	bȕ+	-	+ȉn	záwȉn
cl 1: say, think						
1S	-	-	n+	+k+	+ȉn	ngȉn
2S	-	-	n+	+m+	+ȉn	nəmȉn
3S	-	s+	+n+ʼØ	-	+ȉn	shȉn
1P	-	-	n+	+y+	+ȉn	nyèn
2P	-	-	n+	+w+	+ȉ	nȕwȉ
3P	-	s+a+	+n+ʼØ	-	+ȉ	sȁi
cl 2: show, point out						
1S	fə́lé+	-	+n+	+k+	+ȉn	fə́lêngȉn
2S	fə́lé+	-	+n+	+m+	+ȉn	fə́lénəmȉn
3S	fə́lé+	+s+	+n+ʼØ	-	+ȉn	fə́léjȉn
1P	fə́lé+	-	+n+	+y+	+ȉn	fə́lényèn
2P	fə́lé+	-	+n+	+w+	+ȉ	fə́lénȕwȉ
3P	fə́lé+	+s+a+	+n+ʼØ	-	+ȉ	fə́lézȁi

The elaborated structure of the verbal complex for both verb classes is examined in detail in ch. 13. There the positions of all inflectional and derivational morphemes are fully explained.

2.2. Comparative Summary of Verb Class Characteristics.

class 1: kin verbs	class 2: ngin verbs
fixed class of less than 150 verbs	unlimited class
no past participle	past participle which functions as modifier formed through suffixation of +kata to class 2 root
inflected by the subject pronoun morphemes and the tense/aspect prefixes and suffixes of class 1	inflected by the finite forms of the class 1 verb ngin, characteristic 1S imperfect aspect ending
third person subject morphemes precede verb root, as do certain of the aspect affixes	class 2 root precedes all inflectional morphemes which are contained in the inflectional forms of the verb ngin
all derivational morphemes precede the verb root	only the causative derivational morpheme precedes the class 2 root
verbal nouns formed from verb root alone, verb root plus +ə̀; deverbal noun formed through k-prefixation	verbal noun formed through suffixation of +tə́ to class 2 verb root
seem *irregular* because of complex phonological and morphological idiosyncracies	seem *regular* because of the productive application of the same consistent affixes for inflection, i.e. the finite forms of the verb ngin

3. The Class 1 Verbs (in kin). In the following lists of verbs have been

grouped all of the class 1 verbs yet attested in the Yerwa dialect of Kanuri. There are just over one hundred verbs presented, and thus the smallness of the class is readily apparent. Outside of the Yerwa dialect, perhaps as many as fifty other class 1 verbs have been attested in addition to those presented here. A relative concentration of such non-Yerwa class 1 verbs has been attested in the Kanembu dialects spoken to the north and to the east of Lake Chad. A significant number of the class 1 verbs of Kanuri and Kanembu have been found to have direct cognates in other Saharan languages. Certain of the subgroupings of class 1 verbs presented in the following lists in fact may correspond closely to distinct verb classes in other Saharan languages. For example verbs from the first and second verb classes of the Teda language (cf Lukas, 1953) can be found in distinct subgroupings of the class 1 verbs of Kanuri. Some of this linguistic evidence may be used to demonstrate that the Kanuri are the most influenced by non-Saharan languages of any of the Saharan language groups. For example, the greater number of class 1 verbs in Kanembu than in Kanuri might be due to closer geographical proximity and contact with other Saharan groups on the part of the Kanembu.

The class 1 verbs of Yerwa Kanuri are here divided into groups largely on the basis of the phonological shape not only of the verb root, but also of the verbal noun and the finite verb form as well. Interestingly enough, these groupings based on phonological considerations resulted in subgroup 1 which is made up of nothing but transitive verbs, and in subgroup 5 which is made up of nothing but intransitive verbs. Here they are presented in alphabetical order, group by group. In appendix 1 (p. 327), the entire class is presented in alphabetical order. Lukas (1937), using stricter phonological, tonal, and morphological criteria, divided up the verbs of class 1 into 24 distinct classes Though he never fully elaborated his criteria in establishing his "twenty-four principal classes of skin verbs" (1937:49), I have indicated the numbers for his classes beside those verbs which have been classified according to his system, with an *L* followed by the number.

3.1. Group 1. Group 1 is made up of class 1 verbs having a monosyllabic CV verb root. Every member of the group has two de/verbal nouns, one of which is made up of the verb root alone with a low tone, and the other formed through the application of the nominalizing prefix k+(V+n) (this nominalizing process is described fully on page 77. The roots of this class may be either obstruent initial or sonorant initial. In the finite verb forms of the imperfect and other nonprefixed aspects, the 3S and 3P subject pronouns are overtly manifested.

Here and in all of the following groups, the finite verb forms presented are the 1S, 3S and 3P forms of the imperfect aspect.

root		*de/verbal nouns*	*imperfect aspect forms*	*meaning*
bá+	*L3*	bà, kə̀mbâ	bákìn, zə̀wâi, zàwâi	*mount, ride*
bù+	*L6*	bù, kə̀mbû	búkìn, zə́wìn, záwìn	*eat*
dí+	*L1*	dìo, kə̀ndó	díkìn, sə̀dîn, sàdîn	*do*
gá+	*L3*	gà, kə̀ngâ	gákìn, zə̀gâi, zàâi	*follow*
lì+	*L2*	lìò, kə̀líó, nzə̀lìò	líkìn, sə́lìn, sálìn	*learn*
mù+	*L6*	mù, kə̀mû	múkìn, sə́mìn, sámìn	*put on (clothes)*
rù+	*L5*	rù, kùrû	rúkìn, súrìn, sórìn	*see*
tà+	*L3*	tà, kə̀ntâ	tákìn, sə́tài, sátài	*seize, grab*
tí+	*L1*	tìò, kə̀ntô	tíkìn, sə̀tîn, sàtîn	*equal, suffice*

3.2. Group 2. The verbs of group 2 have monosyllabic verb roots of the structure CVC/C. Most of the members of the group have only one verbal noun formed through suffixation of +ò to the verb root on a low tone. Some of the verbs of this group may have a second verbal noun or derived nominal formed through the prefixation of nzə̀+ to the first form of the verbal noun. Initial consonants of the roots of this group may be either obstruents or sonorants. In the nonprefixed aspects, the prefixed third person subject morphemes are overtly manifested in both the singular and the plural forms.

root	*de/verbal nouns*	*imperfect aspect forms*	*meaning*
bòt+ *L8*	bòtò	bòtə́kìn, zùwòtín, zòwòtín	*tell (story)*
búr+	bùrò	búrə̀kìn, zə̀wúrìn, zàwúrìn	*move, migrate*
dór+	dòrò	dórə̀kìn, súdórìn, sódórìn	*gather up*
dùr+	dùrò	dùrə́kìn, sùdùrín, sòdùrín	*fall (of rain)*
(dùr+ = *derived form IV of* *yùr+ *according to Lukas, 1937:251)*			
dùt+	dùtò	dùtə́kìn, sùdùtín, sòdùtín	*sew*
fànd+	fàndò	fàndə́kìn, sə̀wàndín, sàwàndín	*find, get*
fár+	fàrò	fárə̀kìn, sə̀wárìn, sàwárìn	*slander*
fét+ *L13*	fètò, nzə̀wètò	fétə̀kìn, sə̀wétìn, sàwétìn	*undo, unplait*
fə̀rt+ *L8*	fə̀rtò	fə̀rtə́kìn, sə̀wə̀rtín, sàwə̀rtín	*pluck, pick*
gád+	gàdò	gádə̀kìn, zə̀gádìn, zààdìn	*argue (usu pl)*
gámb+ *L13*	gàmbò	gámbə̀kìn, zə̀gámbìn, zààmbìn	*scratch*
gánd+	gàndò	gándə̀kìn, zə̀gándìn, zààndìn	*lick*
gánt+	gàntò	gántə̀kìn, zə̀gántìn, zààntìn	*acquire*
gə̀nd+ *L8*	gə̀ndò	gə̀ndə́kìn, zə̀gə̀ndín, zàgə̀ndín	*move, shake up*
gə̀r+ *L8*	gə̀rò	gə̀rə́kìn, zə̀gə̀rín, zàgə̀rín	*chew, masticate*
gùt+/ gùd+	gùtò/, nzùwùtò gùdò	gùtə́kìn, zùwùtín/, zòwùtín/ sùwùtín sòwùtín	*warm o.s. in sun;* *draw water*
jér+ *L16*	jèrò	jérə̀kìn, sə̀ryérìn/, sèryérìn/ sìyérìn sèérìn	*tie up*
kált+	kàltò	káltə̀kìn, sə̀gáltìn, sààltìn	*break fast; tie ropes*
kàr+ *L8*	kàrò, nzə̀kàrò	kàrə́kìn, sə̀gàrín, sààrín	*forge, carve, cast*
kàs+ *L8*	kàsô	kàsə́kìn/kǎskìn, sə̀gàshín, sààsâi	*run*
kə́nd+ *L13*	kə̀ndò, nzə̀gə̀ndò	kə́ndə̀kìn, sə̀gə́ndìn, sàgə́ndìn	*tie baby to back*
kór+ *L14*	kòrò	kórə̀kìn, súwórìn, sówórìn	*ask*
kúd+	kùdò	kúdə̀kìn/kûkkìn, súwúdìn, sówúdìn	*bring*
kùt+	kùtò	kùtə́kìn, sùwùtín, sòwùtín	*stir food*
làd+ *L8*	làdò, nzə̀làdò	làdə́kìn, sə̀làdín, sàlàdín	*sell*
lànd+	làndò, nzə̀làndò	làndə́kìn, sə̀làndín, sàlàndín	*churn, shake*
làr+	làrò, nzə̀làrò	làrə́kìn, sə̀làrín, sàlàrín	*live in luxury*
lìw+	lìwò, nzə̀lìwò	lìwúkìn, sə̀lìwín, sàlìwín	*protect*
lòr+	lòrò, nzə̀lòrò	lòrə́kìn, sùlòrín, sòlòrín	*boil (usu 3S)*
lór+ *L13*	lòrò, nzə̀lòrò	lórə̀kìn, sùlórìn, sòlórìn	*collect & take away*
lúw+	lùwò	lúwùkìn, sùlúyìn, sòlúyìn	*go out, leave*
mèr+	mèrò	mèrə́kìn, sə̀mèrín, sàmèrín	*recover*
mìnt+	mìntò	mìntə́kìn, sə̀mìntín, sàmìntín	*remove grains from millet*
mów+ *L14*	mòwò, nzə̀mòwò	mówòkìn, sə́móyìn, sámóyìn	*take, get*
nánd+ *L13*	nàndò, nzə̀nàndò	nándə̀kìn, sə̀nándìn, sànándìn	*bite*
nàt+	nàtò, nzə̀nàtò	nàtə́kìn, sə̀nàtín, sànàtín	*sow, plant*
nót+	nòtò, nzə̀nòtò	nótə̀kìn, súnótìn, sónótìn	*commission s.o.*
nyè+	nyò	nyègə́kìn, sə̀nyèyín, sànyèyín	*herd, pasture*
*ràg+	ràwò, nzə̀ràwò	rààkìn,sə̀ràyín, sàràyín	*like, want, love*
rə̀mb+	rə̀mbò, nzə̀rə̀mbò	rə̀mbə́kìn, sə̀rə̀mbín, sàrə̀mbín	*reimburse*
rə̀nd+	rə̀ndò, nzə̀rə̀ndò	rə̀ndə́kìn, sə̀rə̀ndín, sàrə̀ndín	*hurt (usu 3S)*
rə̀pt+	rə̀ptò *(cf cl 2* rə̀p+*)*	rə̀ptə́kìn, sə̀rə̀ptín, sàrə̀ptín	*bury*
ríndl+	rìndò	ríndə̀kìn, sə̀ríndìn, sàríndìn	*tire of waiting*
ság+	sàwò	ságə̀kìn, sə̀sáyìn, sàsáyìn	*lower, bring down*
sàw+	sàwò, nzə̀sàwò	sàwúkìn, sə̀sàwín, sàsàwín	*winnow, sift*

sàng+	sàngò, nzə̀sàngò	sàngə́kìn, sə̀sàngîn, sàsàngîn	*lift up, start*
támb+	tàmbò, nzə̀tàmbò	támbə̀kìn, sə́támbìn, sátámbìn	*taste*
tánd+	tàndò, nzə̀tàndò	tándə̀kìn, sə̀tándìn, sàtándìn	*build*
tèr+	tèrò	tèrə́kìn, sə̀tètîn, sàtèrîn/sètèrîn	*remove, carry away*
wár+	wàrò, nzə̀wàrò	wárə̀kìn, sə́wárìn, sáwárìn	*recover from long illness*

3.3. Group 3. Group 3 is made up of only two verbs which have monosyllabic CV roots beginning with the semivowel y+. Both of the members of this group have three de/verbal nouns, one consisting of the root alone, and two prefixed forms. In the nonprefixed aspects, the third person subject pronouns contract across the morpheme boundary with the verb root.

root	*de/verbal nouns*	*imperfect aspect forms*	*meaning*
yá+ *L18*	yà, nzà, kə̀nzâ	yákìn, sâi, sásâi	*drink*
yí+ *L17*	yò, njò, kə̀njô	yíkìn, cîn, sádìn	*give*

3.4. Group 4. Group 4 is also made up of verbs with roots in initial semivowel y+. The monosyllabic roots of this group are of the structure CVC/C. Most of the verbs of this group have two de/verbal nouns, one formed through the application of the suffix +ò to the verb root on a low tone, and another through nz+ prefixation. In the nonprefixed aspects, it is apparently the case that the 3P subject pronoun morpheme is prefixed to the 3S form of the verb to produce the 3P form for most members of the group. There are a number of CVCCVC bisyllabic roots as well.

root	*de/verbal nouns*	*imperfect aspect forms*	*meaning*
yád+ *L19*	yàdò, nzàdò	yádə̀kìn/, sádìn, sáadìn/ yâkkìn sásádìn	*carry away, take to*
yál+	yàlà, yòlò	yálàkìn/, sálâi, sásálâi/ yólòkìn sùlóyìn	*amuse child*
yàmb+	yàmbò, nzàmbò	yàmbə́kìn, sàmbîn, sàsàmbîn	*bear, give birth*
tàmb+ *III*	tàmbò	tàmbə́kìn, sàmbîn, tàsàmbîn	*be born*
yámb+	yàmbò, nzàmbò	yámbə̀kìn, sámbìn, sòsómbìn	*burn (usu 3S)*
yàmbàt+	yàmbàtà	yàmbàtákìn, sàmbàtâi, sàsàmbə̀tâi	*find out, check on*
yàmbùt+	yàmbùtò, nzàmbùtò	yàmbùtə́kìn, sàmbùtîn, sàsàmbùtîn	*bark (usu 3S/P)*
yàngàng+	yàngàngà, nzàngàngà	yàngàngákìn, sàngàngâi, sàsàngàngâi	*imitate, ape*
yàrgàl+*L21*	yàrgàlò, nzàrgàlò	yàrgàlə́kìn, sàrgàlîn, sàsàrgàlîn	*raise, breed*
yàrùw+	yàrò, nzàrò	yàrùwə́kìn, sàrùyîn, sàsàrùyîn	*redeem*
yàs+ *L20*	yàsà, nzàsà	yàsákìn, sàsâi, sààsâi/sàsàsâi	*repair*
yàsə̀ra+	yàsə̀rà, nzàsə̀rà	yàsə̀rákìn, sàsə̀râi, sàsàrâi	*believe*
yàsə̀ra+	yàsə̀rà, nzásə̀rà	yàsə̀rákìn, sàsə̀râi, sàsàrâi	*cough*
yàtt+	yàttò, nzàttò	yàttə́kìn, sàttîn, sàsàttîn	*plait, braid*
yàwùt+	yàwùtò, nzàwùtò	yàwùtə́kìn, sàwùtîn, sàsàwùtîn	*fan*
yénd+	yèndò	yéndə̀kìn, séndìn, sádéndìn	*tolerate*
yètt+	yèttò, nzèttò	yèttə́kìn, sèttîn, sàsèttîn	*water (animal)*
yèz+ *L22*	yèzò, njèzò	yèzə́kìn/yěskìn, cèjîn, cèshènîn	*kill, destroy*
yìmbàr+	yìmbàrò, nzə̀mbàrò	yìmbàrə́kìn, sə̀mbàrîn, sàsàmbàrîn	*be tired*
yìmbə̀l+*L24*	yìmbə̀lò, nzə̀mbə̀lò	yìmbə̀lə́kìn, sə̀mbə̀lîn, sàsàmbə̀lîn	*fill*
yìmb+	yìmbò, nzə̀mbò	yìmbə́kìn, sə̀mbîn, sàmbîn/sàsàmbîn	*nurse, milk*
yìnd+	yìndò, nzə̀ndò	yìndə́kìn, sə̀ndîn, sàsə̀ndîn	*swallow*
yír+	yìrò, sô, nzə̀rò	yírə̀kìn, círìn, cásárìn	*cry, weep*
yíw+	yìwò, njìwò	yíwə̀kìn, cíwìn, céshéwìn/cásáwìn	*buy*
yìrgàt+	yìrgàtò, nzə̀rgàtò	yìrgàtə́kìn, sə̀rgátìn, sàsə̀rgátìn	*mention*
yòrd+	yòrdò, nzòrdò	yòrdúgə̀kìn, sòrdúyìn, sòsòrdúyìn	*accompany*
?	?	yòwógə̀kìn, sə̀wòyîn, sàwòyîn	*reflect over*
*yùr+	*yùrò	*yùrúkìn, sùrîn, sòrîn	*(see* dùr+, *group 2 above)*
yùkkùr+	yùkkùrò, nzùkkùrò	yùkkùrúkìn, sùkkùrîn, sòkkùrîn	*fall down*

3.5. Group 5. This group represents perhaps the most irregular and idiosyncratic of the groups of class 1 verbs. The roots represented here are for the most part monosyllabic CV and CVC roots, though there are exceptions. Most of the members have at least one de/verbal noun formed through the suffixation of +ò to the low tone root, and some have prefixed forms as well. The most exceptional characteristic of this group is that none of the members have subject pronoun prefix on the 3S form of the nonprefixed aspects. For many of them the 3P form in such aspects appears to be a reduplicated form of the 3S form, or, of the same form as the 3S form but with the root vowel changed to the plural morpheme +a+. Still others do have the regular 3P subject pronoun prefix. A number of the verbs of this group are those that have very likely entered Kanuri from other Saharan languages, since a number of them have cognates in verb class 1 of Teda and other Saharan languages.

root		*de/verbal nouns*	*imperfect aspect forms*	*meaning*
bàf+	*L10*	bàfò	bàfúkìn, bàfîn, bàwàfîn	*ripen*
də̀g+	*L12*	də̀gà, kə̀ndə́gà	də̀gákìn, də̀gâi, dàwîn	*live, stay, exist*
?		?	*fə́lángə̀kìn, fə́lángìn, fálángìn	*appear (e.g. new moon)*
*gàg+	*L11*	gàwò	gàákìn, gàyîn, gàgàyîn/gàsàyîn	*enter*
?		gə̀làwò	gə́lágə̀kìn, gə́láyìn, gáláyìn	*spend a year*
ís+	*L15*	ìsò, kə̀nshê, kə̀nshô, kə̀ndê	ísə̀kìn/îskìn, íshìn, ísàì	*come, arrive*
nù+	*L7*	nù, kə̀rmû	núkìn, sûi, sónìn	*die*
tàd+		tàdò	tàdíyèn, tàdîn *(pl only)*	*meet each other*
tìyèr+		tìyèrò	tìyèrə́kìn/, tìyèrîn/, ?tìyèrâin tə̀gə̀rə́kìn tə̀gə̀rîn	*fail to do*
tòm+		tòmò	tòmîn *(3P only)*	*enter in group*

3.6. Group 6. This does not really constitute a distinct group since it is made up only of a single verb, the independent verb ngin, meaning *say, think* in its independent use. It is separated from the rest of the class 1 verbs because it is defective when used independently and does not occur in all of the aspects etc. of the language. In its inflectional use however, it does occur in all aspects. It is apparent that in the nonprefixed aspects, the third person subject morpheme prefixes result in the deletion of the verb root n+ in those finite forms.

n+	-	ngìn, shìn, sàì	*say, think*

4. The Class 2 Verbs (in ngin). Because of the very large and potentially unlimited size of verb class 2, and its diachronic origin in what are really composite accreted forms, it is apparent that its members come from a great many sources historically, both from within and from outside of the Kanuri language. For these reasons, class 2 verbs lend themselves to groupings based not only on phonological considerations as was the case with class 1. It is the purpose of this section to present the various kinds of criteria which can be used to break down the members of the class in a meaningful and useful way. Various groups and subgroups will then be proposed using relevant phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic criteria. The phonological criteria used are based on such factors as syllable structure and tone pattern of the class 2 root. Morphologically, composite, accreted verb roots will be distinguished from those that are not. Syntactically, class 2 roots which are bound, dependent morphemes with no other lexical function will be distinguished from those with other lexical and syntactic functions in the language, and the latter will be grouped according to those functions. Semantically, the value of grouping class 2 roots according to their transitivity will also be considered. All of these criteria will be applied to class 2 roots with other language

sources as well.

4.1. On Becoming a Class 2 Verb Root. It has been said that class 2 is literally unlimited. When a verb is borrowed, or when a new verb is needed in response to a modern requirement, they are coined as class 2 verbs. Because of the inflection by the verb ngin, almost any lexical item of the language may be tonally altered to take on the function of a class 2 root describing the process of becoming that lexical item. All such intransitive process verbs have low tone roots, as shown in the following examples.

lexical source		*class 2 root*	
kâm kúrà	*important person*	kàmkùrà+	*become an important person*
kúrà	*big, important*	kùrà+	*become big, important*
málàm	*malam, religious teacher*	màlàm+	*become a malam*
ngə́wù	*many, a lot, much*	ngə̀wù+	*become plentiful*
zâu	*difficult, expensive*	zàu+	*become difficult, expensive*

Class 2 verbs like the above are created every day and their sources are easily identifiable. For other class 2 roots however, it is not as easy to discover the original source.

It has been suggested in regard to all of the verbs of Kanuri that the verbs of class 1 are the older verbs of the language, for the reasons given. It would seem that there is an even more elaborate time-based hierarchy among the class 2 roots, that correlates with when a word became a class 2 root and how long it has performed that function. Since in every finite class 2 verb form the finite forms of the class 1 verb ngin are always visibly intact as inflections, there can be no doubt that at one time or another every class 2 verb was essentially *made up*.

In making up new class 2 verbs today, as above, regardless of the original tone of the lexical source, it takes on low tone as a class 2 root and is inflected like every other low tone verb of the class. The only verbs that can be productively fabricated in this way are the process verbs, which are always intransitive. This evidence can be used to associate intransitivity with low tone class 2 roots.

In exception to this generalization, a recently borrowed transitive verb of English meaning *bail s.o. out* has entered Kanuri as the low tone class 2 verb bèlìn+. It seems that it is synchronically impossible to make up a high tone class 2 verb, whether it be transitive or intransitive. Evidence from elsewhere in the class would seem to indicate that at some point in the evolution of class 2, among the roots for which today there is no evident lexical source, that tone and transitivity were in fact correlated in the way described above. Examples supporting this hypothesis will be examined subsequently. Thus the tone pattern of a root may be used in determining how long it has functioned in that role, in relation to other members of the class. In determining the degree to which a class 2 root has assumed its verbal function, it is also necessary to assess the relative importance of its nonverbal functions elsewhere in the language.

4.2. Speculations with regard to the Original Members of Verb Class 2. The major group of class 2 verb roots (described on page 105) excluding the unlimited group of inventable process verbs, is made up of largely monosyllabic roots, with some bisyllabic as well, which have no recognizable source either within Kanuri or from another language. These monomorphemic roots have no independent function in language, other than the bound morpheme function of the class 2 root. All of the members of this group have roots with a level tone. For the reason that they have no other function in the language, and for other reasons to be elaborated here, I would suggest that these represent the original members of verb class 2. Another smaller group of class 2 roots is that which has as its source a specific adverb or ideophone which is used independently in that role. It will be the purpose of this section to relate these two groups of class 2 verb roots and to demonstrate that the process through which today a specific adverb becomes a class 2 root is the same as that through which the proposed original members of class 2 became class 2 roots.

To momentarily digress, Aronoff (1976:8) distinguishes between those minimal meaningful units of a language which are *arbitrary*, and those which are *motivated*. English *dog* he says, is a sign involving totally "arbitrary union of the semantic and the phonetic .. because there is nothing in the sound which dictates its meaning, and vice versa, except social convention." He contrasts *dog* with other "signs whose sounds, we feel, have some intrinsic connections with their meanings. Onomatopoetic words, and those which involve phonetic symbolism like *slurp* and *quack*, are said to be partially *motivated* (nonarbitrary) because of this intrinsic connection."

Specific adverbs/ideophones, and other nonarbitrary (motivated or partially motivated) lexical items have traditionally been left to the end of the grammar book in the treatments of many languages - a sort of weird subsidiary phenomenon with which we are not so familiar vis-a-vis Indo-European languages, characteristic of many African languages and often isolated from the rest of the grammar. Apart from Lukas' collection of nearly 200 specific adverbs nothing has appeared in the literature on the topic of onomatopoetic words and specific adverbs of Kanuri. Perhaps because motivated lexical items have always been set apart from the rest of the lexicon, as marginal members, few have related them to the traditional lexical categories like noun and verb. According to the presently proposed analysis, Kanuri is a language in which specific adverbs and other motivated lexical items are important both in their purely independent usage, and also in their role as roots in a variety of the derived components of the lexicon.

We have seen (ch. 3) that the possible forms in which the syllable is constructed in Kanuri are CV and CVC. The phonological makeup of the syllable may be predictable on the basis of the position in which it occurs in the word, and as well on the basis of the lexical category of the word in which it occurs. Likewise in some cases, the suprasegmental feature of tone may be predictable as a function of the same criteria. The following is a comparison of the phonological structure of the class 2 verb root (with no recognizable lexical source) and the specific adverb.

class 2 verb root	specific adverb
CV/C and less often CVCV/C, the latter in some cases being derived from a monosyllabic root through application of formatives	CV/C, CVV, and less often CVCV/C, CVCVV, the latter bisyllabic forms often being derived from or related to a monosyllabic counterpart
root final C may be any C of the language	final C may be any C of the language
all syllables bear level tones, high and low, no contour tones	all syllables bear level tones, often high, no contour tones
may be repeated/reduplicated (V) unlimited	may be repeated/reduplicated virtually unlimited

The similarities are remarkable. Both categories are immune to the phonological stipulation that prevents lexical nouns from ending in any consonant other than the sonorant series of liquids and nasals.

In English, the verb *go* is used to describe ideophonic processes and onomatopoeia, as in *the gun went boom*; in Hausa, the verb yi *do* is used, as in constructions like Gida ya yi kaca-kaca *The house was in complete disorder*. In Kanuri, the verb used in this way is the verb ngin, the same verb noted as the class 1 verb used to inflect all class 2 verbs. The speculation therefore that the origins of the entire verb class 2 lie in this process is inevitable. It is likely that the verb ngin was used in its independent form to describe actions, sounds, processes, etc., which through usage eventually produced verbal meanings for which no class 1 verb was available due to its limited size. Given: 1) the synchronic independent meanings of ngin i.e. *say*, *think*, 2) the synchronic independent use of ngin to describe ideophonic and onomatopoetic processes, 3) the earlier described phonological similarities between specific adverbs and class 2 verb roots, I hypothesize that the first and original class 2 verb roots were perhaps motivated, specific adverbs which became fused to the verb ngin through constant usage as juxtaposed objects of the finite forms of the verb ngin.

A significant number of the apparently nonderived class 2 verb roots can in fact be shown to be related to certain specific adverbs. The situation is not however so simple and clearcut that one can take all of the synchronic class 2 roots and find an ideophone from which they were originally derived. Thus the hypothesis cannot be either substantiated or refuted. It is likely that the inventory of spedific adverbs of any language fluctuates perhaps more than any other lexical category. The hypothesis is espoused here for its explanatory value and for pedagogical purposes.

In Kanuri then, the gun does not *go boom* but rather *says boom*. Using the specific adverb bàdák, which represents the sound of a beating heart, one can describe the beating of a heart either as an ideophonic process using the forms of the verb ngin independently as in the first example below, or using bàdák as a class 2 verb root, fused to the finite forms of the verb ngin for inflection as in the second example below.

Kàrə́gə̀nzə́ bàdák (bàdák) shìn.	*His heart is going badak badak.*
Kàrə́gə̀nzə́ (bàdàk)bádákcìn.	*His heart is beating (distinctly).*

Another class 2 root used to describe the beating of the heart is də̀gdə̀gá+, which is also clearly a non-arbitrary sign, though it today has no independent use as a specific adverb. It occurs only as a fused class 2 verb root.

The nouns jàm and sàm are also probably originally motivated signs, and both have come to mean *a short time, a little while, the wink of an eye*. Neither has become a class 2 root, though both may occur independently as objects of ngin.

Jàm/sàm shíà ísə́kìn.	*I will be back in the wink of an eye.* *lit: When it says jam/sam I will come.*

For a description of certain other independent uses of the verb ngin see page 235. For a presentation of a group of class 2 verb roots derived from specific adverbs see 5.2 below. For a complete inventory of the specific adverbs of Kanuri see appendix 7 (page 347).

5. Groups Making up Verb Class 2. In the lists that are organized in this section are presented the major groups which constitute verb class 2. In

5.1, group 1 is presented as the large group of class 2 roots which have no lexical source. There only a small number of examples are presented and discussed since the entire group 1 is presented in appendix 2 (p. 329). For all of the other proposed groups, the entire group of attested class 2 roots is presented here.

5.1. Group 1: Bound Roots. This group was introduced in 4.2 above and is presented in its entirety in appendix 2 (p. 329). It represents the largest group of class 2 roots, numbering around 700 attested members. The verbs of this group are the most commonly used and therefore the most important of the class. Some group 1 roots do have bound cognates in other Saharan languages, though the original source language cannot be presently determined. Nearly all of the roots included function uniquely as class 2 roots in synchronic Kanuri, with no other independent nonverbal function.

It was proposed in 4.2 that the original class 2 roots are among this group 1, and that because of the process described there, many may have come originally from specific adverb or other motivated sources. Therefore a number of the members of group 1 can be shown to be related to synchronically attested specific adverbs (see appendix 7 (p. 347). Others may not be relatable to a specific adverb. but are undoubtedly motivated signs coming from onomatopoetic sources which are no longer attested in the language. Most of the group 1 roots are monosyllabic, and it is these which I would suggest represent the older more original members of the group. Among the bisyllabic roots are those which can be shown to be composed of lexical formatives like those discussed in ch. 10, which are no longer productive. The most suspect as being derived among the bisyllabic roots are those for which the two syllables do not agree in tone. Examples of these various subgroups of group 1 will be presented below.

A selection of the monosyllabic roots of group 1 are presented here.

bák+	*beat, hit*
bò+	*lie down*
cè+	*move, remove*
cét+	*scrape away*
cì+	*get up, stand up*
cín+	*rub, wipe*
cíp+	*lance, pop*
còl+	*poke, stick*
dà+	*stop, stand*
dák+	*fear, be in awe of*
dàm+	*fill up, crowd*
dàp+	*prevent, refuse*
dé+	*cook, boil*
də́p+	*reject, divorce*
dì+	*mix up, prepare*
dú+	*drive away, chase*
fá+	*wake up, melt*
fàl+	*change*
fál+	*cross, break*
fàn+	*hear, sense, feel*
fàr+	*jump, fly*
fér+	*spread out, lay out*
fí+	*pour out*
fù+	*blow*
gá+	*catch fire*
gál+	*sharpen by pounding edge*
kà+	*escape, avoid*
kár+	*choose, select*
kòk+	*peck at*
kòl+	*leave, quit*
lá+	*dig*
lé+	*touch*
lə̀m+	*become late at night*
lə́p+	*string, create, immerse*
lí+	*grow*
lím+	*shrivel up, wilt*
má+	*look for, fetch*
mát+	*pull strongly, scrunch*
nə̀k+	*shake bucket at well bottom*
rák+	*be able to, can*
rí+	*fear*
rù+	*scorn*
sà+	*start for first time*
sàk+	*drip, leak, filter*
sál+	*chop*
sò+	*be still damp, not dried*
sú+	*stiffen, become rigid*
súk+	*pierce, penetrate*
táp+	*pour down*
tàr+	*spread out, lay out*
tùs+	*rest, spend time*
wá+	*dislike*
wà+	*spend the night*
wí+	*loosen, untie*
yés+	*deviate, branch off*
zú+	*push*

5.1.1. Tonal Minimal Pairs in Group 1. As discussed earlier in this work, (see pp. 26 and 63), tone change may have at some point in the history of the language functioned as a process by which one class 2 root was derived from another. All of the pairs cited in these earlier discussions of the role of tone are members of group 1 of the class 2 roots. For example, the relation between the verb yìn+ *breathe* and the verb yín+ *smell, sniff* was cited, among other examples, as indicative of this no longer productive process. If tone change did play this role historically then evidence from group 1 and from elsewhere among the class 2 roots would suggest that low tone among class 2 roots may have been associated with intransitivity, and high tone with transitivity.

5.1.2. Group 1 Roots with Historical Lexical Formatives. In chapter 10 the role played by the formative prefixes k+ and n+ was presented. These lexical formatives were apparently productive at some point in the history of the language, but are not synchronically productive. Among the class 2 roots of group 1 there appear to be those roots which were derived from other class 2 roots through the application of one or the other of these historical formative prefixes. Since such processes have not been documented before, a number of admittedly speculative pairs of examples are presented.

The following examples may represent class 2 root derivation through n+ prefixation. In one case the n+ prefix appears to have been applied to a k+ prefixed form.

gál+	*sharpen edge by pounding*	ngál+	*measure, buy in measured amount*
kúrnó+	*III be happy*	ngúrnó+	*favor*
gə̀rmə́s+	*waste away, eat away at*	ngə̀rmə́s+	*break in, wear in*
rə́k+	*flex, tighten* *III bear down, grunt*	ngə̀rə́k+	*sprain*
kə́mə́s+	*squeeze, knead, wring*	ngímə́s+	*wink*

The following examples may represent class 2 root derivation through g+ or k+ prefixation.

bàd+	*KBU cl 1 step on*	gə̀wát+	*step on*
bák+	*beat, hit*	kàwák+	*dish/shovel food out quickly*
dál+	*dye, soak*	kádál+	*commit infanticide*
dú+	*drive off, chase away*	kádú+	*pursue*
də́p+	*reject, divorce*	gə́də́p+	*beat violently*
jàl+	*rinse e.g. rice*	gàjál+	*handle roughly, rough up*
kál+ wùl+	*break (shell), hatch (egg)* *scrape/pick off*	kùwàl+ kúwúl+ kwàl+	*pick (pimple, scab)* *shell, peel, skin* *pop (blister)*
lás+	*I hang up on, affix, attach*	gə̀làs+ kúlás+	*I roll up (sleeves), hitch up* *research, investigate*
lè+ lé+	*go* *touch*	kə̀lé+	*wrap around (turban)*
lòlòk+	*pick nose, knock down*	kúlók+ kùlòlòk+	*lance (boil)* *knock down (mango from tree)*
mbá+	*float*	kámbé+/kámbí+	*swim*
nâ	*place*		
nà+	*I reach, attain*	gə̀ná+	*place, put down*
nak+	*TBU place*		
nyè+	*grind*	gə̀rnyè+	*crush (with implement)*
ré+	*halve, split*	gə́ré+ kə́ré+	*put side by side, compare* *sort out, select*
lét+	*sleep*	kúlét+	*touch with scratch of finger*
sàr+	*line up, order, arrange*	kásár+	*summarize, make short work of*
sàt+	*bear witness before court*	kàsàt+	*accept, agree to*

wí+/yí+	*untie, undo*	kài+	*skin, expose private parts*
wùr+	*break/knock down, destroy*	gə̀wúr+	*pound, pulverize in mortar*
zá+	*tap/beat/pound repeatedly*	kə̀zàkə̀zà+	*shake up, mix grain with liquid*
zə̀k+	*grate charcoal; shake at*	gə̀zə̀k+	*shake/mix up well; shake in hand*
zə́k+	*annoy, irritate, persist*		
zə̀rə̀n+	*unravel*	zə́gə́rə́n+	*ponder over*
zú+	*push*	gùzùgùzù+	*knock down from above with missile*

5.2. Group 2: Class 2 Roots from Specific Adverb Sources. Group 2 is made up of class 2 roots that have synchronically attested specific adverbs as their recognizable sources. Some other class 2 roots that probably originated from some other onomatopoetic source are also presented here. In 4.2. above it was suggested that verb class 2 may have evolved as a result of the description of ideophonic processes involving the juxtaposition of a specific adverb and the finite forms of the verb ngin. If this hypothesis is correct, then all of the verb of group 1 as well as those presented here in group 2, came originally from some motivated specific adverb or other onomotapoetic cource. Thus, some of the examples presented here are also members of group 1. Furthermore, additional research will reveal a great many more members of this group 2. Here are presented some of the more transparent roots, in the sense that a specific adverb source can be easily recognized. With regard to group 1, though there is no synchronic specific adverb fú, there can be little doubt that the two group 1 verbs fù+ *blow up*, and fú+ *swell* were originally derived from onomatopoetic sources.

specific adverb source		*class 2 root*	
bàdák	*describes loud heartbeat*	bádák+	*beat (of the heart)*
bə̀k/bùk	*describes blow of fist*	bák+	*beat, hit*
-		də̀gdə̀gà+	*beat (of the heart)*
fés	*clean, neat, well done, well arranged*	fés+	*separate, sort out by shaking on round flat winnowing mat; fan out tail (e.g. of turkey)*
gáa	*describes glowing hot coals*	gá+	*catch fire*
gágá	*describes strongly emitted odor*	gàgà+	*make known by emitting a smell (e.g. presence of a skunk)*
fálálá	*describes flow of spilling or running water; growth of a creeping plant*	fálálá+	*flow or spill over; creep (of a plant)*
gájál	*describes sloppy reckless walking gait*	gàjál+	*handle roughly, rough up*
kȍk	*sound of chicken's pecking*	kȍk+	*peck at*
kől	*sound of beating with stick, pounding with hammer; describes small head*	kőlkől+	*tap sharply on a hard surface; prod, provoke, urge to irrational act*
káp	*describes act of catching sth thrown*	kàp+	*meet, catch up; go and meet s.o. before they reach destination to accompany to destination*
kə́p/kə́pkə́p	*small, crowded*	kə́p+	*be crowded, tight*
kúl	*sth entirely concealed*	kúl+	*get fat*
-		kə́rə́m+	*harvest (by cutting heads off stalks)*
ngúl	*describes hiding behind*	ngúl+	*hide behind*
-		táp+	*clap (hands); pour (water)*
sə́lít	*slippery, slimy*	sùlìt+	*slip, slide*
wái	*excl of pain*	wàiwài+	*sting (of painful wound)*
-		tə̀rə̀p+	*trot (of a donkey)*
-		tə́rə́p+	*cut (with scissors)*

5.3. Group 3: Class 2 Roots from Lexical Items. This group of class 2 roots is potentially unlimited since as described earlier, any word, whether lexical or derived, can in fact become a class 2 process verb root when changed to a low tone. Thus the entire lexicon could be grouped here. In the examples presented here I have tried to present the most commonly used class 2 roots that are derived from other lexical items. Both transitive and intransitive examples are presented, and the varying tone patterns which different lexical items have taken on as class 2 roots will be apparent. Some of the intransitive process verbs are included among these commonly used verbs. This is only a sample.

lexical source		*class 2 root*	
bánà	*help*	báná+	*help, assist*
bàrà	*hunting*	bàrà+	*search for, hunt*
bárè	*farming, hoeing*	bàré+	*farm, hoe*
bárgà	*congratulations, blessing*	bàrgà+	*congratulate, bless*
bâ/báwò	*there is/are not*	bà+/bàwò	*die, pass away*
bìské	*game, amusement, playing*	bìské+	*play*
bə́ràm	*spun cotton twine*	bə̀ràm+	*spin/twist into string/twine*
bə̀làwúrò	*trip, voyage, travels*	bə̀làwùrò+	*travel*
bàyê	*nostalgia*	bàyè+	*III seek jealously to remarry former mate*
bə́lààǹà	*one knowing town well*	bə̀lààǹà+	*getting to know town well*
də́bdò	*one day, spending one day*	də̀bdò+	*spend the day*
də́rtə̀	*middle of the night*	də̀rtə̀+	*become middle of the night*
də́rwà	*muddy color of striped dog*	də̀rwá+	*stir or mix up bottom sediment*
dîn	*worn out, old, used*	dìn+	*wear out*
fèté	*clear, obvious*	fètè+	*become clear, obvious*
dóndì	*sick*	dòndì+	*get sick*
dàryé	*last*	dàryè+	*finally happen at last minute*
fúlù	*reduction*	fùlù+	*reduce*
fúwù	*front*	fùwù+	*move ahead, advance*
fífì	*fertilizing with manure*	fìfì+	*manure a farm; dust bath a horse*
bòwûl	*urine*	bòwûl+	*urinate*
còlló	*urine*	còllò+	*urinate*
bùrwó	*first*	bùrwò+	*do first, precede, anticipate*
cídà	*work*	cìdà+	*work*
fə́rə̀m	*inside out*	fə̀rə́m+	*open, uncover, reveal*
gàná	*little, small*	gànà+	*be meek, humble; show respect*
gárlàp	*galloping horse race*	gárláp+	*gallop (on a horse)*
jê	*rope*	jé+	*wait for; lead by a rope*
jígə̀n	*experience*	jìgə̀n+	*undergo, experience*
jítkə̀	*expert*	jìtkə̀+	*become an expert*
kàjâ	*circumcision*	kàjà+	*circumcize*
kàjírí	*evening, late afternoon*	kàjìrì+	*become evening/late afternoon*
kàrə́ngə̀	*near, close*	kàrə̀n+	*approach, draw near*
kàrə́gə̀	*heart*	kàrə̀gə̀+	*III take personally/to heart*
kàmbígə̀	*argument, quarrel*	kàmbìgə̀+	*III pl argue with one another*
kámbà	*widow*	kàmbà+	*become a widow*
kòdówù	*preparing farm first time*	kòdòwù+	*prepare farm first time*
kókkó	*padlock*	kòkkò+	*lock up*
kə̀jî	*sweet, delicious*	kə̀jì+	*become pleasant, agreeable*
kə̀lî	*wet, green, raw etc.*	kə̀lì+	*become wet, green, raw etc.*
lámbí	*need, concern*	làmbì+	*III need*
lòrû	*harm*	lòrù+	*harm, hurt, damage*
màttáwù	*horse's hobble*	màttàwù+	*hobble (horse)*
ngâ	*healthy*	ngà+	*get well, recover*
ngə́rə̀m	*galloping horse race*	ngə́rə́m+	*gallop (on a horse)*

nyìmé	*chatting, conversation*	nyìmé+	*chat, conversation*
nóngù	*shame, timidity*	nóngú+	*feel timid/shy; be humble*
máskálâ	*slap*	màskàlà+	*slap*
rúwò	*writing*	rùwò+	*write*
kə́rà	*reading, studying*	kə̀rà+	*read, study*
sámùn	*alike, similar*	sàmùn+	*resemble*
sótò	*hospitality*	sótó+	*receive (guest)*
súlì	*joke*	súlí+	*make fun of*
sáwà	*friend*	sàwà+ II	*befriend*
sólò	*reconciliation*	sòlò+	*conciliate, reconcile*
tádì	*waste*	tàdì+	*waste, ruin, wreck*
támàn	*price*	tàmàn+	*price, check price*
tárwâ	*envy*	tárwâ+	*prevent/hold back out of envy*
tárwù	*flattery*	tàrwù+	*flatter, talk into*
tóskù	*market commission*	tòskù+	*commission s.o.*
tə́lák	*drop, drip*	tə́lák+	*drip (of water)*
wásàm	*yawn*	wásám+	*yawn*
wúshè	*friendly greeting*	wùshè+	*say wushe to s.o.*
wòsə́	*better, recovered (illness)*	wòs+	*get/feel better*
wàyé	*short while*	wàyè+	*become a little later*
zâ	*traditional measurement*	zà+	*measure off with za*
záyè	*decorative clothing*	záyè+	*dress decoratively*
záwà	*path, road*	zàwà+	*accompany, see off*
zə̀gí	*crooked*	zə̀gì+	*bend, make crooked*

5.4. Group 4: Class 2 Roots from Compounds and other Derived Forms. Some class 2 roots are formed from two or more words, or a word and another morpheme, which have combined and become a class 2 root in response to some semantic need. Some involve the change to low tone that is characteristic of the intransitive class 2 process verb.

source		*class 2 root*	
cî	*mouth, edge*	cìngál+	*chop up, slice up*
ngál+	*measure off*		
cìngâl	*tin*		
dú+	*drive/chase away*	dùngòl+	*veer off, change course*
kòl+	*leave, quit, desist*		
kâm	*person*	kàmbà+	*become a widow*
bâ	*there is not*		
kámbà	*widow*		
kâm	*person*	kàmkùrà+	*become an important person*
kúrà	*big, important*		
dáwùn	*in the middle*	dàwùnbà+	*I exclude*
bâ	*there is not*		
kə̀lâ	*head*	kə̀làkòr+	*head off, herd by circling*
kòr+	*fence off/in*		
ngáwò	*back, behind*	ngàwònjòl+	*tie hands behind back*
njól+	*squat*		
kúlwú	*gown, robe*	kùlwùmə̀skè+	*conceal in gown sleeve*
múké	*I should put on*		

The following examples are derived through the application of the associative postposition to a lexical noun.

fúnò	*loin cloth*	fùnà+	*II tuck tail/private parts between legs*
fúnòà	*having a loin cloth*		

gə̀dí gə̀díà	*east, origin, source* *eastward*	gə̀dìà+	*move eastward*
kánnú kánnúà	*fire* *hot*	kànnùà+	*become hot*
kǎusù kǎusùà	*heat of day* *it is hot out*	kàùsùà+	*become hot part of day*
súró súróà	*stomach* *having a stomach, pregnant*	sùrə̀à+	*become pregnant*

5.5. Group 5: Class 2 Roots from Arabic. The following class 2 roots represent those that have come into Kanuri from Arabic. All those that have thus far been collected are presented here. Many of the roots presented here have corresponding nominals in Kanuri that are of course also from Arabic. Many of these examples were presented on page 73.

àbàt+	*worship*	jàràp+	*test, try out; addict*
àdàr+/hàdàr+	*witness, attend*	jáap+/jáawú+/júwáp+	*answer*
àgərì+	*rent*	jègə̀r+	*II verify, confirm*
àjì+/jì+	*make pilgrimage*	jì+	= àjì+
àjàp+	*be amazed, astonished*	jùmlà+	*gather, total up*
àlàk+	*create*	kàdàr+	*redeem, pay in kind; preordain*
áláp+	*swear on Holy Koran*	kàsàl+	*bathe, wash*
àllàm+/hàllàm+	*train, discipline, form*	kásár+	*buy bit by bit*
àmàn+	*entrust, confide*	kátál+	*mutually divide sth*
àmàr+	*agree, will, allow*	kərà+	*read, study*
àmbà+	*raise, bring up, rear*	làmìn+	*vouch for, bail*
àrdì+	*recognize, appreciate*	làwàr+	*observe*
àsàr+	*lose, abort*	làyà+	*burden, tax, overwork*
àsə̀mà+	*consume, finish off*	lèfà+	*greet*
àskə̀r+	*thank*	lòskù+	*bury deceased infant*
áwás+	*discredit*	lùwàlà+	*fight, argue with*
àwùlàk+	*mature, reach puberty*	lùwàp+	*desire, covet, long for*
àwùlàm+	*become senile*	lùsùràn+	*cause loss by theft*
ázáwá+	*torture, punish severely*	màkkàr+	*mock, imitate mockingly*
bàdì+	*begin, start*	mànà+	*speak, talk*
básár+	*squander*	màyì+/màgì+	*implore, adjure, plead*
bàyàn+/bàyèn+	*explain*	mìskìl+	*III pl misunderstand one another*
dáwár+	*prepare*	mìzàn+	*measure, weigh, aim*
dìgə̀r+	*say diger prayer*	nàdìm+	*doubt, regret*
dùwà+	*slaughter*	nàsàr+	*III be victorious*
fàjàr+	*become early morning*	ngádár+	*slander*
fàjàrrà+	*say goodnight to*	nyà+	*intend, plan*
fàidà+	*be useful; II use*	nyìyà+	*marry*
fàsàr+	*translate, explain*	rái+	*persuade with one's opinion*
fàsàl+	*design, plan*	ràmà+	*pardon, forgive (by God)*
gàlá+	*advise, counsel; install*	rátál+	*compare, measure against*
gàsàl+	*wash dead before burial*	rə̀bbù+	*bow down with hands on knees*
gàfə̀r+	*forgive, pardon*	rìzáp+	*try out, test*
gùl+	*say*	rùkkù+	*bow down with hands on knees*
gùrùs+	*poke*	sàlàm+	*dismiss, release; break in*
hàiyà+	*verify, ascertain truth*	sálám+	*say assalamu aleikum*
hàlàl+	*own, possess lawfully*	sàlì+	*pray*
hàlàm+	*fold*	sàaràn+	*make drunk; III be drunk*
hàllàm+	= àllàm+	sàr+/sàrà+	*line up in row*
hàwàrà+	*inform*	sàdàk+	*give alms*
hòwùm+	*judge, sentence*	sàt+	*call to prayer*
hùrmò+	*appreciate*	sàwə̀r+	*be trader*
ìsàp+	*count*	shàddà+	*testify to innocence*

shàt+	*testify to innocence*	tàwàwá+	*die, pass away (of prophet)*
shàk+	*doubt*	tèyèt+	*pray for with ritual spitting*
shìkəl+	*mark vowels of*	wàa+/wàkà+	*happen*
shìtərà+	*bury, inter*	wàhàr+	*not show up*
səbbù+	*review rapidly (Holy Koran)*	wàdə+	*promise*
sùjìt+	*prostrate o.s. in prayer*	wàjìp+	*become obligatory*
sùwànà+	*say subhana lai*	wàttì+	*have sex with (polite)*
tàjì+	*condole upon death*	wàràtà+	*inherit; pass on to*
tàmìs+	*count (usu on prayer beads)*	wàrdàk+	*roast, barbecue*
tàhìr+	*be clean, pure*	wòlò+	*perform ablution*
tànjì+/tànjìwàr+	*wash after toilet*	zàràp+	*barely miss, narrowly escape*
tàmò+	*finish, complete*	zán+	*suspect*
tàrtìp+	*arrange, organize, order*	zàndé+	*discuss, talk about*
tàwàk+	*III pl agree with each other*	zə́m+	*fast*
tàwát+	*be loyal, uphold word*	zìyàrà+	*visit*

5.6. Group 6: Class 2 Roots from Hausa.

àurè+	*graft (plants)*	gòdè+	*thank*
cìkà+	*fill out (a form)*	shàfè+	*smooth*
fàlàsà+	*reveal, expose, uncover*	tàllà+	*hawk, sell on streets*

5.7. Group 7: Class 2 Roots from English.

bèlìn+	*bail out (s.o. arrested)*	kèmpèn+	*go all out for (e.g. woman's favor)*
cànjì+	*transfer, repost*	wàinà+	*wind (watch, clock)*

CHAPTER 13: THE STRUCTURE OF THE BASIC VERB FORM AND THE VERB ASPECTS

1. Introduction. The present chapter deals with the structure of the nonderived, basic finite verb form (I), and all of the possible forms that it takes on in the different aspects of the Kanuri verb. This topic was briefly introduced on p. 91 in the chapter which introduced this entire unit. The morphological structure of the verbal complex as a whole will be reexamined here. Then the morphological structure of each aspect will be discussed, together with a presentation of any phonological or morphophonemic processes relevant to the formation of the aspect. The discussion of each aspect will necessarily lead to a treatment of the semantic and syntactic characteristics of each aspect, and example sentences will be presented in each case.

The term *aspect* is here being used globally to refer to all of the categories or conjugations traditionally used to describe verb tenses, aspects, and moods. With regard to the term *aspect*, Comrie (1976:3) stated that "aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation". Later Comrie (1976:5) points out that although both aspect and tense are concerned with time, they are concerned with time in different ways. "... tense is a deictic category, i.e. locates situations in time, usually with reference to the present moment, though also with reference to other situations. Aspect is not concerned with relating the time of the situation to any other time-point, but rather with the internal temporal constituency of the one situation; one could state the difference as one between situation-internal time (aspect) and situation-external time (tense)."

In this light, most of the categories or conjugations of the Kanuri verb might best be described as *verb aspects* and the system an *aspect system*. Some however might refer to it as a *tense-aspect system* since certain of the completive aspects function more like the tenses with which we are familiar in languages like English. The terms used to describe the aspects are not however as important as an understanding of how they are used and function in the language. This will hopefully be made clear by the following explanations. In each case, the term being used for the purposes of the present work is presented first. When this term differs from that coined by Lukas (1937), then Lukas' term is indicated in parentheses.

2. The Structure of the Verbal Complex of the Basic (I) Finite Verb Form. The term *verbal complex* is here used to refer to the verb root and all of the accompanying inflectional morphemes which combine to make up the basic finite verb form (Lukas' I). The basic verbal complex which is presented here will be elaborated on in the following chapter 14, where the positions for all of the derivational morphemes (Lukas' II, III, IV, and V) are added to the basic schema. Thus we are here dealing with all of the obligatory morphemes, elementary to the formation of the finite verb form.

As has been introduced earlier, the finite verb form is made up of the morpheme of the class 1 verb root, plus or minus the class 2 verb root, and inflectional morphemes indicating aspect and subject pronoun. Of the morphemes indicating aspect, some are prefixed to the verb root and some are suffixed to the verb root. With regard to the subject pronoun morphemes, some are broken down into two separate morphemes, one indicating person, and one indicating number. Thus an elaborated version of the basic verbal complex contains the following possible morpheme positions, indicated here in the order in which they may be filled.

1. class 2 verb root
2. aspect prefix morpheme
3. 3rd person subject pronoun morpheme
4. 3rd person number morpheme
5. class 1 verb root (filled by n+ for class 2 verbs)
6. 1st and 2nd person subject pronoun morphemes
7. aspect suffix morpheme

The derivation of the class 1 verb form cìlàdə̀kò *I sold (it)*, and the class 2 verb form lĕngîn *I am going*, can therefore be represented schematically as follows, using the above described morpheme position analysis.

1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*finite verb form*
-	ki+	-	-	làd+	+k+	+ò	cìlàdə̀kò
lè+	-	-	-	n+	+k+	+ìn	lĕngîn

Thus the numbered morpheme positions and the scheme can be readily used for both class 1 and class 2 verb forms. As will be seen in ch. 14 where the derived forms of the verb are treated, all derivational morphemes or verb extensions occur in the verbal complex schema preceding position 5, the class 1 verb root position. For class 1 verbs, position 5 is always taken by a class 1 verb root, and for all class 2 verbs, position 5 is always taken by the root consonant n+ of the class 1 verb ngin. In the formation of class 2 verb forms, it should be noted that whenever any morpheme other than the class 2 root precedes the root consonant n+ of ngin, (i.e. when an aspect prefix morpheme or a third person subject precedes) then the n+ is deleted and is not overtly manifested in the finite verb form. Note that within the verbal complex, the third person subject morpheme in position 3 is separated from the third person number in position 4. This split into two morphemes is not crucial to the basic forms examined here, but its relevance will become clear when certain of the derived forms of the verb are examined in the next chapter. Similarly, it will be noted that for class 1 verb forms in the past and the future, that the aspect prefixes ki+ and ti+ appear to be the same for the basic finite form of many verbs, though in the third person the past prefix is apparently not applied. Here again, their differences will become clearer in relation to the derived forms of the verb.

For most of the verb aspects of Kanuri, aspect indicating morphemes are applied to the verb root-subject complex as suffixes. For only three of the verb aspects, aspect marking involves both a prefix and a suffix, as shown below in the following inventory of the verb aspects.

aspect	*2 (prefix)*	*3-4-5-6*	*7 (suffix)*
incompletive aspects			
(negative) imperfect (continuous)	-	x	+ìn(bâ)
future	ti+/ta+	x	+ò
negative future	ti+/ta+	x	+nyí
completive aspects			
past	ki+/ka+	x	+ò
perfect	-	x	(+*v*)+nà
noun emphasis (relative past)	-	x	+*v̀*
verb emphasis (predicative)	-	x	+í
negative completive (negative past)	-	x	+nyí
non-aspects			
conjunctive	-	x	+*v̀*
imperative	-	x	+*v́*
subjunctive (optative)	-	x	+*v́*

negative imperative/subjunctive = negative completive

3. The Incompletive Aspects.

3.1. The (Negative) Imperfect (Lukas' (Negative) Continuous). The imperfect and the negative imperfect are treated together as one because the latter is derived from the former through the simple suffixation of the negative bâ, which when used independently means *there is/are not*. The imperfect, as will be shown subsequently, is used to describe incomplete or imperfect actions in the past, present, progressive, and future.

3.1.1. Deriving and Writing the Imperfect Aspect. Imperfect aspect verb forms characteristically end in +n preceded by a low tone vowel in all but the 2P form. The ending in +n may also be omitted in the 3P forms of certain class 1 verbs, and optional in the 3P forms of all class 2 verbs. It is possible that this ending is historically derived from the postposition +(là)n. There are no prefixed aspect morphemes in the imperfect.

Class 1. As is apparent in some of the following class 1 imperfect paradigms, various forms of phonological assimilation are reflected in the writing of these forms. These observations apply to other aspects also, where aspect morphemes are not prefixed. The prefixed 3S and 3P subject pronoun morphemes are always low tone before a low tone root, but may be high or low tone before a high tone root. All verbs whose roots begin with a voiceless consonant, d+, a liquid consonant, or a nasal consonant, will appear and be pronounced with the voiceless forms of the 3S and 3P subject pronoun morphemes sə+/sa+. All other verbs (i.e. with roots beginning with a voiced consonant other than d+ will occur with the voiced forms of the 3S and 3P subject prefixes zə+/za+. The vowels of the third person subject prefixes will harmonize to the root vowels o/u of CVC (group 2) roots.

	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*(neg)imperfect aspect*
1S	-	-	-	-	bù+	+k+	+ìn	búkìn *I eat*
2S	-	-	-	-	bù+	+m+	+ìn	búmìn
3S	-	-	s+	-	bù+	-	+ìn	zə́wìn
1P	-	-	-	-	bù+	+y+	+ìn	búiyèn
2P	-	-	-	-	bù+	+w+	+ì	búwì
3P	-	-	s+	+a+	bù+	-	+ìn	záwìn
1S	-	-	-	-	bù+	+k+	+ìn+bâ	búkìnbâ *I don't eat*
2S	-	-	-	-	bù+	+m+	+ìn+bâ	búmìnbâ/bûmbâ
3S	-	-	s+	-	bù+	-	+ìn+bâ	zə́wìnbâ
1P	-	-	-	-	bù+	+y+	+ìn+bâ	búiyènbâ
2P	-	-	-	-	bù+	+w+	+ì +bâ	bûwâ
3P	-	-	s+	+a+	bù+	-	+ìn+bâ	záwìnbâ
1S	-	-	-	-	kór+	+k+	+ìn	kórə̀kìn *I ask*
2S	-	-	-	-	kór+	+m+	+ìn	kórə̀mìn
3S	-	-	s+	-	kór+	-	+ìn	súwórìn
1P	-	-	-	-	kór+	+y+	+ìn	kórìyèn
2P	-	-	-	-	kór+	+w+	+ì	kórùwì
3P	-	-	s+	+a+	kór+	-	+ìn	sówórìn
1S	-	-	-	-	gánd+	+k+	+ìn+bâ	gándə̀kìnbâ *I don't lick*
2S	-	-	-	-	gánd+	+m+	+ìn+bâ	gándə̀mìnbâ/gándə̀mbâ
3S	-	-	s+	-	gánd+	-	+ìn+bâ	zə̀gándìnbâ
1P	-	-	-	-	gánd+	+y+	+ìn+bâ	gándìyènbâ
2P	-	-	-	-	gánd+	+w+	+ì +bâ	gándùwâ
3P	-	-	s+	+a+	gánd+	-	+ìn+bâ	zàándìnbâ
1S	-	-	-	-	làd+	+k+	+ìn	làdə́kìn *I sell*
3S	-	-	s+	-	làd+	-	+ìn	sə̀làdín
3P	-	-	s+	+a+	làd+	-	+ìn	sàlàdín

Class 2. As described, class 2 roots are inflected by the finite forms of the class 1 verb ngin, shown here in the (negative) imperfect aspect.

1S	ngìn(bâ)	*1P*	nyèn(bâ)
2S	nə̀mìn(bâ)/(nə̀mbâ)	*2P*	nùwì(wâ)/(nùwâ)
3S	shìn(bâ)	*3P*	sài(wâ)

The tone pattern taken on by these imperfect aspect forms of ngin in its inflectional role will be apparent from the derivational paradigms presented below. Their tone as affixes is always predictable.

The 3S form shin, becomes +jin after class 2 roots ending in: 1) a vowel (lè+/lèjín), 2) a sonorant consonant (fàn+/fànjín; sàm+/sàmjín; fàl+/fàljín; fár+/fárjìn), and becomes +cin after a class 2 root ending in a voiceless obstruent (rák+/rákcìn; lét+/létcìn; náp+/nápcìn). Similarly, the 3P form sai retains its form after class 2 roots ending in voiceless consonants (rák+/ráksài; lét+/létsài; tùs+/tùssâi), and voices to +zai after all class 2 roots ending in sonorant consonants (fàl+/fàlzâi; fár+/fárzài; sàm+/sàmzâi).

In the 1S/P and 2S/P forms, an epenthetic vowel +ə+ is inserted between the class 2 root and the ngin inflection for class 2 roots ending in +s (tùs+/tùsə̋ngín/tùsə̀nə́mìn/tùsə̀nyên/tùsə̀núwì). In the 2S/P forms, the root n+ of the ngin inflection assimilates phonetically to a class 2 root ending in the liquid consonant +l (fàl+/fàllə́mìn/fàllúwì).

The final consonant of class 2 roots ending in an obstruent assimilates homorganically to the root n+ of the ngin inflection (sáp+/sâmngìn/sámnə̀mìn/sâmnyèn; lét+/lênngìn/lénnə̀mìn/lênnyèn; bák+/bânggìn [bâŋŋìn]/bángnə̀mìn/bângnyèn).

All of these alternations are predictable and reflected in the SKO.

	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7 (neg)*	*imperfect aspect*
1S	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+k+	+ìn	le̋ngín *I go*
2S	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+m+	+ìn	lènə́mìn
3S	lè+	-	s+	-	0	-	+ìn	lèjín
1P	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+y+	+ìn	lènyên
2P	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+w+	+ì	lènúwì
3P	lè+	-	s+	+a+	0	-	+ì	lèzâi
1S	fàl+	-	-	-	+n+	+k+	+ìn+bâ	fâlngínbâ *I don't change*
2S	fàl+	-	-	-	+n+	+m+	+ìn+bâ	fàllə́mìnbâ/fàllə̋mbâ
3S	fàl+	-	s+	-	0	-	+ìn+bâ	fàljínbâ
1P	fàl+	-	-	-	+n+	+y+	+ìn+bâ	fàlnyênbâ
2P	fàl+	-	-	-	+n+	+w+	+ì +bâ	fàllûwâ
3P	fàl+	-	s+	+a+	0	-	+ì +bâ	fàlzâiwâ
1S	tùs+	-	-	-	+n+	+k+	+ìn	tùsə̋ngín *I rest*
2S	tùs+	-	-	-	+n+	+m+	+ìn	tùsə̀nə́mìn
3S	tùs+	-	s+	-	0	-	+ìn	tùsshín
1P	tùs+	-	-	-	+n+	+y+	+ìn	tùsə̀nyên
2P	tùs+	-	-	-	+n+	+w+	+ì	tùsə̀núwì
3P	tùs+	-	s+	+a+	0	-	+ì	tùssâi
1S	bák+	-	-	-	+n+	+k+	+ìn	bânggìn *I beat*
2S	bák+	-	-	-	+n+	+m+	+ìn	bángnə̀mìn
3S	bák+	-	s+	-	0	-	+ìn	bákcìn
1P	bák+	-	-	-	+n+	+y+	+ìn	bângnyèn
2P	bák+	-	-	-	+n+	+w+	+ì	bángùwì
3P	bák+	-	s+	+a+	0	-	+ì	báksài
1S	lét+	-	-	-	+n+	+k+	+ìn+bâ	lênngìnbâ *I don't sleep*
3S	lét+	-	s+	-	0	-	+ìn+bâ	létcìnbâ
3P	lét+	-	s+	+a+	0	-	+ì	létsài

3.1.2. Using the (Negative) Imperfect Aspect. As mentioned above, imperfect aspect verb forms are used to describe incomplete or imperfect actions in the past, present, progressive, and future. It is used far more than the future (3.2 below) to describe future events. It functions also as the continuous or habitual aspect of the language. The imperfect also occurs productively in relative clause constructions. It may be used with the associative postposition suffixed to it to form a finite present participle form of the verb.

progressive

Kàsúwùrò lȅngîn.	*I am going to the market.*
Kə́rmá létcìnbâ.	*S/He is not sleeping now.*
Kə́rmámá íshìn.	*S/He is coming right now.*
Cìdàjînbâ.	*S/He is not working.*

future

Tùsshíà lȅngîn.	*I will go in a little while.*
Bálì túrúiyèn.	*We will see each other tomorrow.*
Lèngê shírò gȕlngîn.	*I will go and tell him/her.*
Bálì lènyênbâ.	*We are not going tomorrow.*

habitual

Sàbísó nâ ádə̀n bə́rì búiyèn.	*We always eat here.*
Wàjísó wúà lèfàjîn.	*S/He greets me every day.*
Kâmdə́ mbâl sâi.	*The man drinks alcohol.*
Ngə́wùsórò nâ ádə̀làn nâmnyèn.	*We normally sit here.*

past interpretation in relative clause (see p. 227)

Bískà sâ íshìnlàdə̂n shíà cúrúkò.	*I saw him yesterday as he was arriving.*

with the associative postposition as a participle (see p. 292)

Kâm ádə̀ bə́rì zə́wìnnà də̀bdòjîn.	*This man spends the whole day eating.*
Sàasâinnà lèyádà.	*They went away running.*

3.2. The Future. The future is one of the least used of the verb aspects of Kanuri. It is formed through the prefixation and the suffixation of aspect morphemes.

3.2.1. Deriving and Writing the Future. The future is formed through the application of the prefix ti+, and a final suffixed low tone vowel in most persons.

Class 1. For the basic nonderived forms of the verb being considered here, the future and the past aspects of the verb very often coincide. The fact that different morphemes are involved in the derivation of these two very different aspects is documented by the clear differences in their finite derived verb forms, and also clearly among class 2 verbs. The underlying prefix ti+ appears to cause the deletion of the 3S/P subject pronoun morphemes, but not the subject number morpheme of the 3P form. It becomes ci+ when applied to class 1 roots beginning in a voiceless or a sonorant consonant, or in d+, and it voices to become ji+ before all roots beginning in a voiced consonant (obstruent) other than d+.

	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*future aspect*
1S	-	ti+	-	-	bù+	+k+	+ò	jíwúkò *I shall eat*
2S	-	ti+	-	-	bù+	+m+	-	jíwùm
3S	-	ti+	s+	-	bù+	-	+ò	jíwò
1P	-	ti+	-	-	bù+	+y+	+è	jíwìyè/jíwè
2P	-	ti+	-	-	bù+	+w+	+ò	jíwə̀u
3P	-	ti+	s+	+a+	bù+	-	+ò	jáwò

	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*future aspect*
1S	-	ti+	-	-	dí+	+k+	+ə̀	cìdə́kə̀ *I shall do*
2S	-	ti+	-	-	dí+	+m+	-	cìdə̂m
3S	-	ti+	s+	-	dí+	-	+ə̀	cìdô
1P	-	ti+	-	-	dí+	+y+	+è	cìdíyè
2P	-	ti+	-	-	dí+	+w+	+ə̀	cìdə̂u
3P	-	ti+			dí+	-	+ə̀	càdô

For certain of the groups of class 1 verbs the future aspect is irregular. Examples of the paradigms of such verbs are presented in appendix 3 (p. 337).

Class 2. The verb ngin is defective in that it does not occur independently in synchronic Kanuri in the future aspect. Its future forms, now apparently obsolete, used to inflect the future for class 2 verbs are:

1S	+coko	*1P*	+caiye
2S	+cam	*2P*	+cau
3S	+cono	*3P*	+cada

Note that in the above paradigm the root consonant n+ of ngin is never overtly manifested in these forms. Similarly the 3S/P subject pronoun morphemes are not manifested, though the 3P number morpheme +a+ is. The application of the prefix ti+ apparently causes the deletion of these morphemes. Note also that in the third person forms new morphemes occur to indicate person and number. In the 3S form +n+ occurs, and in the 3P form +d+ occurs. These morphemes were introduced as third person morphemes on page 11. They are perhaps required in the future and the past aspects, the only aspects with prefixed aspect morphemes, due to the resultant deletion of other subject pronoun morphemes. They are in position 6 below.

The initial voiceless palatal affricate c+ in the above inflections, is fricativized after class 2 roots ending in +s (njès+/njèsshə́kə̀) and is voiced after class 2 roots ending in sonorant consonants (fàl+/fàljə́nə̀). After vowel final class 2 roots they are voiced and may also be fricativized (lè+/lèjə́kə̀ or lèzə́kə̀).

	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*future aspect*
1S	lét+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+k+	+ə̀	létcə̀kə̀ *I, etc. shall*
2S	lét+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+m+	-	létcàm *sleep*
3S	lét+	ti+	s+	-	+n+	+n+	+ə̀	létcə̀nə̀
1P	lét+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+y+	+è	létcàiyè
2P	lét+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+w+	+ù	létcàu
3P	lét+	ti+	s+	+a+	+n+	+d+	+à	létcàdà
1S	wùr+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+k+	+ə̀	wùrjə́kə̀ *I, etc. shall*
2S	wùr+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+m+	-	wùrjə̂m *push down*
3S	wùr+	ti+	s+	-	+n+	+n+	+ə̀	wùrjə́nə̀ *(wall, etc.)*
1P	wùr+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+y+	+è	wùrjáiyè
2P	wùr+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+w+	+ù	wùrjâu
3P	wùr+	ti+	s+	+a+	+n+	+d+	+à	wùrjádà

3.2.2. Using the Future Aspect. The future is most often used to predict and its use often lends itself to translation with *shall* in English. After wánéè *perhaps* it may be used with a certain degree of semantic uncertainty to refer to something that *may* happen. In this latter and in other uses, the occurrence of the future may be in a situation which requires politeness and diplomacy. For regular future meanings the imperfect aspect is nearly always preferred over the future aspect. It does seem to pop up rather frequently in proverbs and other commonly used pat expressions. In Yerwa Kanuri the future and its negative counterpart the negative future (3.3 below) are certainly the least commonly occurring of the aspects of the language.

The future forms fànjónò *s/he shall/will hear it* and fànjə́dà *they shall/ will hear it* are formulaic and required during leavetaking in response to shíà lèfàné *greet him/her* and sàndíà lèfàné *greet them*, respectively.

Lȁirà wàajíà kə̀lânə́m nòjâm.	*When judgement day comes you shall know yourself.*
Kâm tàwàjíà kȁusùrò kàzónò.	*The early riser shall avoid the heat.*
Kâm súnó wárə́tàbè jétə́màdə́ shî dêà ngə́wùrò fómjònò.	*The man who waits to inherit shoes shall walk barefoot for a long time.*
Wâi, wánéè cìràâm ngè dé kóljìdə́ cíwúdùkò.	*Thinking maybe you would like them I brought the groundnuts.*
"Ȁwó gónə̀m jíwùmmá báwò," wònò, kùwûi ngáwò kúdúkàrèá kòksə̂.	*"There is nothing that I could get my teeth into," said the chicken pecking at the turtle's shell.*

3.3. The Negative Future Aspect. Like its affirmative counterpart, the negative future is rather infrequently used.

3.3.1. Deriving and Writing the Negative Future Aspect. The negative future is formed through the application of the same aspect prefix ti+ which is used to form the regular future, together with the negative aspect morpheme +nyí, which is also used in the formation of the negative completive aspect of the verb. In some persons, for both verb classes, the negative suffix is applied directly to the subject pronoun morpheme, and in others is separated from it by an epenthetic vowel.

The supplementary person morphemes, described above in 3.2.1 for class 2 verbs in the future, also occur in the negative future paradigms. Here however, the third person morpheme +n+ occurs in the 3S and the 3P forms for both class 1 and class 2 verbs. In third person morpheme +d+, occurs only in the 3P forms of class 2 verbs in the negative future.

In the following derivational paradigms, sample derivations of the negative future aspect are presented for both class 1 and class 2 verbs. The supplementary person morphemes are again presented in position 6, the normal position for first and second person morphemes, normally unoccupied in the third person form in all of the aspects with no prefixed aspect morpheme.

	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*negative future aspect*	
1S	-	ti+	-	-	dí+	+k+	+nyí	cìdə́kə̀nyí	*I shall not*
2S	-	ti+	-	-	dí+	+m+	+nyí	cìdə́mmí	*do*
3S	-	ti+	s+	-	dí+	+n+	+nyí	cìzə́nnyí	
1P	-	ti+	-	-	dí+	+y+	+ndé	cìdíyèndé	
2P	-	ti+	-	-	dí+	+w+	+nyí	cìdə̂wí	
3P	-	ti+	s+	+a+	dí+	+n+	+nyí	càdə̂nnyí	
1S	-	ti+	-	-	bù+	+k+	+nyí	jíwúkə̀nyí	*I shall not*
2S	-	ti+	-	-	bù+	+m+	+nyí	jíwùmmí	*eat*
3S	-	ti+	s+	-	bù+	+n+	+nyí	jíwùnnyí	
1P	-	ti+	-	-	bù+	+y+	+ndé	jíwìyèndé	
2P	-	ti+	-	-	bù+	+w+	+nyí	jíwùwí	
3P	-	ti+	s+	+a+	bù+	+n+	+nyí	jáwùnnyí	
1S	lè+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+k+	+nyí	lèjákə̀nyí	*I shall not*
2S	lè+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+m+	+nyí	lèjâmmí	*go*
3S	lè+	ti+	s+	-	+n+	+n+	+nyí	lèjânnyí	
1P	lè+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+y+	+ndé	lèjáiyèndé	
2P	lè+	ti+	-	-	+n+	+w+	+nyí	lèjâuwí	
3P	lè+	ti+	s+	+a+	+n+	+d+n+	+nyí	lèjádànnyí	

3.3.2. Using the Negative Future Aspect. As indicated in the above derivational paradigms, the negative future may lend itself to translation in English with *shall not*. It is perhaps even less used than its affirmative counterpart, the future. It does appear in proverbs, as in one of the examples below.

Kɔ́kɔ́ súrɔ́ yàngêbè nzə́gə́rə̀nyí yàyé létsàmnyí.	*Though the frog inside the trousers has not bitten you, you shall not sleep.*
Cìlàdə́kə̀nyí.	*I shall not sell it.*

4. The Completive Aspects. Kanuri has four affirmative completive aspects and one negative completive aspect, thus in all, five completive aspects. The richness and intricacy of the completive aspects is unmatched in the incompletive aspects where basically one aspect, the (negative) imperfect, is the incompletive counterpart of all five completive aspects. Each of the completive aspects has its own syntactic and semantic realm in which its use is most appropriate. For the student of spoken Kanuri, it would be advisable to master the perfect, the past, and the negative completive, since they are the most important and most frequently used, before attempting the verb emphasis and noun emphasis completive aspects.

4.1. The Perfect. The perfect is the most neutral of the completive aspects in that its use does not entail the semantic emphasis of any other element in the sentence, nor does it require that any other constituent in the sentence even occur. The perfect verb form very often stands alone, sententially.

4.1.1. Deriving and Writing the Perfect. The formation of the perfect, like that of the imperfect, is relatively simple involving only the application of an aspect suffix, and no aspect prefix. In most persons, the suffix +nà (the +n+ of which is an assimilating homorganic nasal) is applied to the root-subject pronoun complex (positions 3-6), for both verb classes. If the suffix of the imperfect is the postposition +(là)n, as speculated earlier, then it is possible that the suffix of the perfect is made up of that same postposition plus the associative postposition. As was the case with the imperfect paradigm, here also the 2P form is idiosyncratic in that the +n+ of the suffix does not occur there.

For the inflection of class 2 verbs in the perfect, the following paradigm of the independent forms of the verb ngin in the perfect are relevant.

1S	ngə̀nà	*1P*	nyènà
2S	nə̀mmà	*2P*	nùwà
3S	sə̀nà	*3P*	sànà

The tone pattern taken on by these verb forms in their inflectional role is always a predictable reflex of the tone of the class 2 root as shown in the following derivational paradigms. For class 1 verbs, regardless of the basic tone of the root, the syllable immediately preceding the perfect suffix is always a high tone syllable.

	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*perfect aspect*
1S	-	-	-	-	bù+	+k+	+nà	búkə́nà *I have eaten*
2S	-	-	-	-	bù+	+m+	+nà	búmmà
3S	-	-	s+	-	bù+	-	+nà	zə́wúnà
1P	-	-	-	-	bù+	+y+	+nà	búiyénà
2P	-	-	-	-	bù+	+w+	+à	búwà
3P	-	-	s+	+a+	bù+	-	+nà	záwúnà

	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*perfect aspect*	
1S	-	-	-	-	làd+	+k+	+nà	làdə́kə́nà	*I etc. have sold (sth)*
2S	-	-	-	-	làd+	+m+	+nà	làdə́mmà	
3S	-	-	s+	-	làd+	-	+nà	sə̀làdə́nà	
1P	-	-	-	-	làd+	+y+	+nà	làdíyénà	
2P	-	-	-	-	làd+	+w+	+à	làdúwà	
3P	-	-	s+	+a+	làd+	-	+nà	sàlàdə́nà	
1S	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+k+	+nà	lèngə́nà	*I etc. have gone*
2S	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+m+	+nà	lènə́mmà	
3S	lè+	-	s+	-	+n+	-	+nà	lèzə́nà	
1P	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+y+	+nà	lènyénà	
2P	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+w+	+à	lènúwà	
3P	lè+	-	s+	+a+	+n+	-	+nà	lèzánà	
1S	má+	-	-	-	+n+	+k+	+nà	mángə́nà	*I etc. have looked for (sth)*
2S	má+	-	-	-	+n+	+m+	+nà	mánə́mmà	
3S	má+	-	s+	-	+n+	-	+nà	mázə́nà	
1P	má+	-	-	-	+n+	+y+	+nà	mányénà	
2P	má+	-	-	-	+n+	+w+	+à	mánúwà	
3P	má+	-	s+	+a+	+n+	-	+nà	mázánà	

The same processes of assimilation, vowel harmony, etc. apply to the formation of the perfect as were described with regard to the formation of the imperfect on p. 115.

4.1.2. Using the Perfect. The perfect is the completive aspect used to neutrally describe actions completed in the past, as completed facts, when no specific element in the sentence is in any way emphasized or qualified. It entails that the action of the verb has been completed normally. In simple sentences, main verbs in the perfect seldom occur with qualifying adverbs. Because its use obviates the possibility of emphasizing a major constituent, a pronoun subject is normally not independently expressed since the subject pronoun morpheme carried in the verb is sufficient under these neutral conditions. In certain contexts, its use typically implies the achievement of a permanent or lasting state, as opposed to the more tenuous state which may be implied by the use of the past. It is preferred over the imperfect to describe present states with verbs of cognition and sensation.

If emphasis of any constituent through negation, questioning, or focus occurs, other completive aspects are used. The past, the verb emphasis completive, and the noun emphasis completive, are the more specialized of the completive aspects, with less general syntactic and semantic functions than the perfect. Completive yes-no questions in which the entire predicate is questioned through the occurrence of the yes-no question marker wá in sentence final position (or by interrogative intonation), must be formed using the perfect aspect verb form. The affirmative answer to such a question must also contain a perfect aspect verb form.

The only affirmative completive aspect which occurs in relative clauses is the perfect. In certain focus constructions, where an underlying relative clause is required, again the perfect is the only permissible affirmative completive aspect. The perfect also occurs productively in counterfactual clauses. It is the most general and neutral completive aspect.

normal unqualified neutral environments

Shí bá, lèzə́nà.	*S/He is not here, s/he has gone.*
Túrúiyénà.	*We have seen each other./We have met.*
Mə́dù ísə́nà.	*Modu has arrived.*
Shíà rúkə́nà.	*I have seen him.*
Ísánà.	*They have arrived/come.*

completive statives	
Nòngə́nà.	*I know.*
Fàngə́nà.	*I understand/hear.*
Nyírò àskə̀rngə́nà.	*Thank you./I thank you.*
Lèzə́nàrò tə̀màngə́nà.	*I think he has gone.*
Tə̀màngə́nà.	*I think so.*
Ríngə́nà.	*I am afraid.*
Àrdìzánà.	*They are grateful/appreciative.*
Búkíà ràákə́nà.	*I want to eat.*
Shíà ràákə́nà.	*I like him/her.*
Ràákə́nà.	*I want to./I like it.*
Gə́rgázə́nà.	*S/He is angry.*
completive processes	
Kàmkùràzə́nà.	*He has become/is an important person.*
Kàrə̀nzə́nà.	*It is near.*
Dìnzə́nà.	*It has/is worn out.*
Gàlìwùzə́nà.	*S/He has become/is rich.*
yes-no questions and answers	
Lèzə́nà wá? Àá lèzə́nà.	*Has s/he gone? Yes s/he has gone.*
Túrúwà wá? Àá túrúiyénà.	*Did you meet each other? Yes we did.*
Cídànə́m tàmònə́mmà wá?	*Have you finished your work?*
Kàsúwùlàn ísánà wá?	*Have they come from the market?*
in relative clauses	
Kám rúmmàdə́ sáwàndé.	*The person that you saw is our friend.*
Ádə̀ bánò shílàn kúlònyí sámmá bàréngə́nàdə́.	*This is the hoe with which I hoed my entire field.*
Fə̄r cíwúnàdə́ fáidà bá.	*The horse that s/he bought is worthless.*
in focus constructions with wò	
Shímá kám rúkə́nà(də́) wò.	*It is he who is the person that I saw.*
in counterfactual conditional clause constructions	
Cá ísə́nàà kúngə́nàdə́ shírò yíkə́nà.	*If he had come I would have given him the money.*

4.2. The Past.

4.2.1. Deriving and Writing the Past.

The past is formed through the application of the prefix ki+, and a final suffixed low tone vowel in most persons. The past, the future, and the negative future are the only aspects of Kanuri formed through the application of an aspect prefix to the verb root-subject pronoun morpheme complex.

Class 1. As mentioned in 3.2.1 above, the past finite verb form and the future finite verb form may coincide and be homophonous for many class 1 verbs in the basic nonderived forms being considered in this chapter. The reason for this is that both the prefix ki+ (sometimes ka+) of the past and the prefix ti+ (sometimes ta+) of the future, are palatalized to ci+ before roots beginning in a voiceless obstruent, d+, or sonorant, and palatalized and voiced to ji+ before class 1 roots beginning with the other voiced obstruents. One distinctive difference between the paradigms of the past and the future however occurs in the third person, singular and plural. There (as is shown in the derivational paradigms below) two forms are produced for most class 1 verbs, i.e. one prefixed form which is homophonous with the future, and one form in which the 3S and 3P subject pronoun morphemes are intact due to the apparent absence of the prefix. This latter form is therefore homophonous with the third person forms of the noun emphasis completive, an aspect with no aspect prefix.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	*past*
1S	-	ki+	-	-	bȕ+	+k+	+ɔ̀	jíwúkɔ̀ *I ate (it)*
2S	-	ki+	-	-	bȕ+	+m+	-	jíwȕm
3S	-	ki+	s+	-	bȕ+	-	+ɔ̀	zə́wɔ̀/jíwɔ̀
1P	-	ki+	-	-	bȕ+	+y+	+è	jíwìyè
2P	-	ki+	-	-	bȕ+	+w+	+ɔ̀	jíwə̀u
3P	-	ki+	s+	+a+	bȕ+	-	+ɔ̀	záwɔ̀/jáwɔ̀
1S	-	ki+	-	-	dí+	+k+	+ɔ̀	cìdə́kɔ̀ *I did (it)*
2S	-	ki+	-	-	dí+	+m+	-	cìdə̂m
3S	-	ki+	s+	-	dí+	-	+ɔ̀	sə̀dő/cìdő
1P	-	ki+	-	-	dí+	+y+	+è	cìdíyè
2P	-	ki+	-	-	dí+	+w+	+ɔ̀	cìdə̂u
3P	-	ki+	s+	+a+	dí+	-	+ɔ̀	sàdő/càdő

For certain of the groups of class 1 verbs the past paradigm is irregular, and for other groups, the forms are distinct from the future even in these basic nonderived paradigms. Examples of paradigms of important verbs from each group are presented in appendix 3 (p. 337).

Class 2. The verb ngin occurs independently in the past. These forms are productively used in direct and indirect quotation in the language. Their pronunciation when used independently which is shown in the following paradigm, differs somewhat from that of their inflectional use.

1S	wɔ̀kɔ̀	*pronounced*	[ɔ̀kɔ̀]	*I said*
2S	gàm	*pronounced*	[àm/ɣàm]	*you said*
3S	wɔ̀nɔ̀	*pronounced*	[ɔ̀nɔ̀]	*s/he said*
1P	gàiyè	*pronounced*	[àiyè/ɣàiyè]	*we said*
2P	gàȕ	*pronounced*	[àȕ/ɣàȕ]	*you said*
3P	gàdà	*pronounced*	[àdà/ɣàdà]	*they said*

Even in these independent forms, the phonological shape of the prefix applied in the formation of the past of ngin is clearly different from its shape as observed above when applied to the other class 1 roots. Here it is apparently ka+ which has been prefixed. The absence of the vowel +i+ would explain the lack of palatalization in these forms. The prefix has apparently harmonized with the final vowel in the 1S and 3S forms. The root consonant n+ of the verb ngin has clearly been deleted in all forms due to prefixation, just as was the case with the prefixed future. The subject number morpheme +a+ has again been retained in the 3P form, and likewise, the third person subject pronoun prefixes have been deleted, again due to prefixing. The supplementary person morphemes in the third person occur again here, exactly as they did in the future, with +n+ apparently replacing the deleted 3S subject pronoun morpheme, and +d+ performing the same function in the 3P form (together with the number morpheme in the latter case). These supplementary person morphemes are again shown in position 6 in the following derivational paradigms.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	*past*
1S	lè+	ka+	-	-	+n+	+k+	+ɔ̀	lèwókɔ̀
2S	lè+	ka+	-	-	+n+	+m+	-	lèyâm
3S	lè+	ka+	s+	-	+n+	+n+	+ɔ̀	lèwónɔ̀
1P	lè+	ka+	-	-	+n+	+y+	+è	lèyáiyè
2P	lè+	ka+	-	-	+n+	+w+	+ɔ̀	lèyâu
3P	lè+	ka+	s+	+a+	+n+	+d+	+ɔ̀	lèyádà

Although the past and the future are sometimes homophonous for class 1 verbs, it is apparent that this is never the case with class 2 verbs. Here there can be no doubt that two different prefixes are involved in in the formation of these aspects. The pronunciation and writing of the ngin inflection of the past are determined by the phonological shape of the class 2 root preceding them. The major possible variations are shown here as they are written according to the SKO. It should be remembered that the velar consonant +g+ is weakened and essentially fricativized when it occurs after a liquid consonant.

	má+	fàr+	fàl+	lét+	bák+	kám+	tùs+	fú+
1S	máwòkò	fàrwókò	fàlwókò	létkòkò	bákkòkò	kámgòkò	tùskókò	fúwòkò
2S	máàm	fàrgâm	fàlgâm	létkàm	bákkàm	kámgàm	tùskâm	fúwàm
3S	máwònò	fàrwónò	fàlwónò	létkònò	bákkònò	kámgònò	tùskónò	fúwònò
1P	máàiyè	fàrgáiyè	fàlgáiyè	létkàiyè	bákkàiyè	kámgàiyè	tùskáiyè	fúwàiyè
2P	máàù	fàrgâu	fàlgâu	létkàu	bákkàu	kámgàu	tùskâu	fúwàu
3P	máàdà	fàrgádà	fàlgádà	létkàdà	bákkàdà	kámgàdà	tùskádà	fúwàdà
	fetch	*jump*	*change*	*sleep*	*beat*	*cut*	*rest*	*swell*

4.2.2. Using the Past. The Kanuri past differs from the perfect in many of the same ways that the English past differs from the English present perfect. For this reason it might better be classified as a tense than as an aspect. A past verb form rarely occurs alone sententially, without some other sentence material preceding it. The use of the past entials there being some other major (nominal) or oblique (adverbial) constituent which semantically bears prominence over the action of the verb in a given utterance. It is the only one of the completive aspects which freely occurs with obliquely marked constituents and other adverbials. The most common oblique postpositions are the locative +(là+)n and the indirect postposition +rò. Likewise when any such oblique constituent is in any way emphasized, questioned, or negated, no other affirmative completive aspect may occur but the past. The past may also occur when major nominal constituents (i.e. subject and object noun phrases) are in any way focused, negated, or questioned, though the noun emphasis completive is normally preferred to it under such conditions.

The past may also occur in certain conditional clauses. In a past narrative context, it is the most commonly occurring affirmative completive aspect, both in its independent form and in subordinated forms.

with oblique (adverbial) constituents

Ndárá lèyâm?	*Where did you go?*
Kàsúwùlàn shíà cúrúkò.	*I saw him/her in the market.*
Kə́rmámá kádìo.	*S/He just arrived/came.*
Sàbí kádìm?	*When did you get here/come?*

subordinated conditional clauses

Kádìoà, lúwúkə́nà gùllé.	*If s/he should happen to come tell him/her that I have gone out.*
Ngáirò wálwònòà wú lèngînbâ.	*If that's how it is I won't go.*

narrative

Kə̀mówùn lèzə̂ nâ bə́ndìbèrò lùwálà bàdìyádà. Sâ lùwálà sàdînlàdə̂n kə̀nyérì bə̀láà kúrà làzə̂ dáwùdə̂n kə̀ská kùrúwù kóksə̀ kə̀lâdə́rò lámbò férzə̀gə̀ kàttîlàn lámbòdə́à rə̀psə̂ kòlwónò. Bə́ndì-à kə̀mówùn-à mbə̀bə́ltài dùwô kə̀mówùnnà bə̀láàyè gózə̀ cùkkùrúwò. Sâdə̂n bə́ndì sə̀gàsə̂ kàráànzə́rò kàrgáwò.	*The elephant went to the lion's place and they started fighting. While they were fighting, the squirrel dug a big hole and planted a big stake in the center, and covered it with leaves and left it. The lion and the elephant were struggling though when the elephant was taken by the hole and fell into it. At that time the lion ran off into his wilderness.*

Tádà kùwúibè cìzə̂ [illegible]ítò ngàmfàtúbèrò lèwónò. Lèzə̂ ngàmfàtúà lèfàátànnyâ "Àbí kúdə̀m?" sə̀ tádà kùwúibèà cíwórò.	*The child of the chicken got up and went to the cat's house. He went and when he and the cat had greeted each other, "What did you bring?" the cat said, asking the baby chicken.*

4.3. The Verb Emphasis Completive (Lukas' Predicative).

4.3.1. Deriving and Writing the Verb Emphasis Completive. The characteristic high tone vowel +í ending of the verb emphasis completive seems to corroborate its meaning and use to describe the sudden completion of the action of the verb. No aspect prefixes are involved, only this vowel suffix which is applied directly to the verb root-subject pronoun morpheme complex. The suffix is consistently applied to all persons for both classes as shown in the following derivational paradigms. Because there are no morphophonemic changes involved in the formation of this aspect, only one sample derivation is shown for each verb class.

The verb ngin is defective in the verb emphasis completive since it does not occur independently in this aspect. It does however occur independently in this aspect when subordinated by the associative postposition in what Lukas (1937:71) referred to as the *dependent future*. The verb emphasis completive forms of the verb ngin which are used to inflect class 2 roots in this aspect are shown here.

1S	+ngí	*1P*	+nyéi
2S	+nə́mí	*2P*	+núwí
3S	+shí	*3P*	+sái

The 2S/P and 3S/P forms of this paradigm assimilate to the final consonants of class 2 roots according to the morphophonemic alternations described in relation to the (negative) imperfect aspect in 3.1.1.

	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*verb emphasis completive*	
1S	-	-	-	-	bù+	+k+	+í	búkí	*I just ate it*
2S	-	-	-	-	bù+	+m+	+í	búmí	
3S	-	-	s+	-	bù+	-	+í	zə́wí	
1P	-	-	-	-	bù+	+y+	+í	búiyéi	
2P	-	-	-	-	bù+	+w+	+í	búwí	
3P	-	-	s+	+a+	bù+	-	+í	záwí	
1S	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+k+	+í	lèngí	*I've gone/I'm off*
2S	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+m+	+í	lènə́mí	
3S	lè+	-	s+	-	+n+	-	+í	lèjí	
1P	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+y+	+í	lènyéi	
2P	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+w+	+í	lènúwí	
3P	lè+	-	s+	+a+	+n+	-	+í	lèzái	

4.3.2. Using the Verb Emphasis Completive. As its name implies, the use of the verb emphasis completive entails emphasis of some kind upon the achievement of the action of the verb. In its use, the verb has semantic prominence and thus a finite verb form in this aspect often stands alone sententially. When the action of the verb was achieved very recently, suddenly, surprisingly, after some difficulty or after a previous failure, then the verb emphasis completive may be used. Its use in comparison to the other affirmative completive aspects is shown in the first set of examples below.

Háwàr máibè fàngí.	*VEC*	*I just heard some news about the king./ Have I got some news about the king.*
Háwàr máibè fàngókò.	*past*	*I heard news of the king.*
Háwàr máibè fàngə́nà.	*perfect*	*I have heard news of the king.*
Háwàr máibè(má) fàngó.	*NEC*	*I heard NEWS OF THE KING.*

Sā shōró kàtànzá kállàn bə̄ndìà sōrí.	*Right when they opened the room they saw the lion.*
Bā, cînyí íshí.	*That's it/all, my turn has come.*
Nā málàmnyíbèn cìngí kə̄rànyí njèsə̀ngí.	*I get up from my teacher's place, I forget my studies.*
Sáà kámtíà nəngi kámtí.	*When the visiting stops the friendship ends.*
'Rúkí'də̄, 'fə̄lésə̄gə̀né' súwúdìn.	*The 'I see it' brings only the 'show it to me'.*
Fàngí.	*I get it./I understand.*
Kə̀jí fàngí.	*I'm happy./I feel good.*
Dìnā lə̀mjíà kàfyā gàpcí.	*When night falls there is leftover shade.*
Nə̄ngànə̄myè bùltùnzə̄gí.	*Your cleverness made you into a hyena.*
Cígə̀ bə̄lə̀mro sùkkùrúyí.	*A fly just fell into the porridge.*
La'illa, nyíà háwàryè kòljí.	*Goodness, did you miss something. (= the news left you)*

4.4. The Noun Emphasis Completive (Lukas' Relative Past).

4.4.1. Deriving and Writing the Noun Emphasis Completive. The formation of the noun emphasis completive is identical to that of the future and of the past were they to have no aspect prefix. Thus it involves no prefix, and only a final low tone vowel in most persons. Where no vowel is suffixed, the final syllable takes the low tone. These observations apply to both verb classes.

The verb ngin does not normally occur in the noun emphasis completive in its independent use. Therefore, the inflectional forms for this aspect are presented here.

1S	+ngò	*1P*	+nyè
2S	+nə̀m	*2P*	+nùw
3S	+sə̀	*3P*	+sà

The 2S/P and 3S/P forms of this paradigm assimilate to the final consonants of class 2 roots according to the morphophonemic alternations described in relation to the (negative) imperfect aspect in 3.1.1.

In the following derivational paradigms note that none of the 3S/P forms have the supplementary person morphemes in either verb class. This is probably due to the lack of a prefix in the noun emphasis completive, which therefore leaves the regular prefixed 3S/P subject pronoun morphemes intact. One paradigm is shown below for each verb class.

	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*noun emphasis completive*
1S	-	-	-	-	bù+	+k+	+ò	búkò *see 4.4.2*
2S	-	-	-	-	bù+	+m+	-	būm
3S	-	-	s+	-	bù+	-	+ò	zə̄wò
1P	-	-	-	-	bù+	+y+	+è	búiyè
2P	-	-	-	-	bù+	+w+	-	būw
3P	-	-	s+	+a+	bù+	-	+ò	záwò
1S	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+k+	+ò	lèngō *see 4.4.2*
2S	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+m+	-	lènə̀m
3S	lè+	-	s+	-	+~~n~~+	-	+ò	lèzō
1P	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+y+	+è	lènyē
2P	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+w+	-	lènūw
3P	lè+	-	s+	+a+	+~~n~~+	-	-	lèzā

4.4.2. Using the Noun Emphasis Completive. The use of the noun emphasis completive entails the implication of semantic prominence for one of the major constituent noun phrases, i.e. either the subject or the object noun phrase. Thus one of the major nominal constituents is always manifested independently in the sentence, and the finite noun emphasis completive verb form can never occur alone sententially. Thus the paradigm alone is untranslatable. It cannot occur either with obliquely marked constituents (adverbials). Its use requires the questioning, focus, or constituent negation of a nominal subject or object.

Nyí gə̀nyí mánàrò mánzà.	*It is not YOU they wanted to argue with.*
Ndúmá gə̀nyí lèzó.	*NO ONE went.*
Wúmá nzúrúkò./Wúmá nyíà rúkò.	*I saw you.*
Ndú lèzó?	*WHO went?*
Shí wá lèzó?	*Did S/HE go?*
Á'à, shí gə̀nyí lèzó.	*No, S/HE didn't go./Not S/HE went.*
Fántà(má) lèzó.	*FANTA went.*

In the above examples major constituents are negated with the negative of identification gᵊnyí *it is not*, questioned with the yes-no question marker wá?, and emphasized with the adjoined emphasis marker +má.

4.5. The Negative Completive (Lukas' Negative Past).

4.5.1. Deriving and Writing the Negative Completive.

The negative completive has no aspect prefix, and is thus formed through the suffixation of the negative aspect morpheme +nyí to the verb root-subject pronoun morpheme complex. Since there are no aspect prefixes, the 3S/P subject pronoun morpheme prefixes remain intact throughout the derivation and thus none of the supplementary person morphemes occur. The negative suffix assimilates homorganically to the 2S subject pronoun morpheme, and apparently loses its nasal consonant when applied to the 2P form. A suppletive form resembling the 1P suffixed possessive pronoun +ndé occurs in the 1P form. All of these unexplainable idiosyncracies also occur in the application of this suffix to the negative future, for both verb classes.

The verb ngin does not occur independently in the negative completive. Its negative completive forms used to inflect class 2 roots are shown here.

1S	+ngənyí	*1P*	+nyendé
2S	+nəmí	*2P*	+nuwí
3S	+sənyí	*3P*	+sanyí

The 2S/P and 3S/P forms of this paradigm assimilate to the final consonants of class 2 roots according to the morphophonemic alternations described in relation to the (negative) imperfect aspect in 3.1.1.

One derivational paradigm is presented here for each verb class.

	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*negative completive*	
1S	-	-	-	-	bû̀+	+k+	+nyí	búkə̀nyí	*I haven't eaten/*
2S	-	-	-	-	bû̀+	+m+	+nyí	bûmí	*didn't eat*
3S	-	-	s+	-	bû̀+	-	+nyí	zə́wùnyí	
1P	-	-	-	-	bû̀+	+y+	+ndé	bûiyèndé	
2P	-	-	-	-	bû̀+	+w+	+nyí	bûwí	
3P	-	-	s+	+a+	bû̀+	-	+nyí	záwùnyí	
1S	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+k+	+nyí	lèngênyí	*I haven't gone/*
2S	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+m+	+nyí	lènᵊmí	*didn't go*
3S	lè+	-	s+	-	+n̸+	-	+nyí	lèzə̀nyí	
1P	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+y+	+ndé	lènyêndé	
2P	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+w+	+nyí	lènûwí	
3P	lè+	-	s+	+a+	+n̸+	-	+nyí	lèzânyí	

4.5.2. Using the Negative Completive. The four affirmative completive aspects share one negative aspect, i.e. the negative completive. The same range of subtle syntactic and semantic distinctions made by the affirmative completive aspects is not replicated in the negative, since the occurrence of negation in itself represents a syntactic and semantic distinction which is exclusive in many environments. Nevertheless, what distinctions can be made are made by other sentence material and not by the varying of the verb form. In the first two examples below, the negative completive is used with the negative indefinite pronouns.

Àbímá búkənyí.	*I haven't eaten/didn't eat anything.*
Ndúmá lèzənyí.	*No one has gone/went.*
Lèzə̂nyí.	*S/He hasn't gone/didn't go.*
Wúmá lèngənyí.	*Even I haven't gone/didn't go.*
Mákkàrò lènyêndé.	*We haven't gone/didn't go to Mecca.*
Lènûwí wá?	*Haven't/Didn't you go?*
Bískà túrûiyèndé.	*We didn't see each other yesterday.*
Álìmá lèzə̂nyí wò.	*Ali is the one who didn't go.*
Álì wá lèzənyí wò?	*Is it Ali who didn't go?*

5. The Non-Aspects. Among the non-aspects are those categories of the verb which have been referred to as *moods* of the verb. Traditionally referred to as moods of the verb are the subjunctive and the imperative, and their shared negative form. Moods are non-aspects of the verb which may function sententially but which make no reference to time, completive or incompletive, imperfectivity or perfectivity. Also included in the non-aspects of Kanuri is the conjunctive, treated first below, which does not qualify as a mood since it may never occur alone sententially.

5.1. The Conjunctive. The conjunctive form of the verb has also been referred to as the *sequential* or the *consecutive*. It represents a finite form of the verb which carries no aspect, tense, or mood. Verb forms in this category are fully inflected for person and number only. The conjunctive has been cited by some as the most neutral and unmarked form of the Kanuri verb.

5.1.1. Deriving and Writing the Conjunctive. The conjunctive qualifies as the most neutral and unmarked form of the verb because it is the least complex derivationally. No prefix is involved in the formation of the conjunctive. In some persons a low tone vowel is applied as a suffix to the verb root-subject pronoun morpheme complex, and in other persons simply a low tone is applied. Thus in many persons it is homophonous with the forms of the noun emphasis completive. The conjunctive paradigm is distinct from the noun emphasis completive paradigm in the 1S, 3S, and 3P forms where the final low tone vowels are different. The supplementary person morphemes do not occur since no prefix is involved in its formation.

Independent forms of the verb ngin do occur synchronically as shown in the following paradigm. These represent the basic conjunctive forms of ngin which are used to inflect class 2 roots in the conjunctive.

1S	ngè	*1P*	nyè
2S	nə̀m	*2P*	nùw
3S	sə̀	*3P*	sà

The 2S/P and 3S/P forms of this paradigm assimilate to the final consonants of class 2 roots according to the morphophonemic alternations described in relation to the (negative) imperfect aspect in 3.1.1.

One derivational paradigm is presented here for each verb class. Since the conjunctive is not inflected for aspect, tense, or mood, it can never stand alone sententially and thus is untranslatable in isolation.

	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*conjunctive*
1S	-	-	-	-	dí+	+k+	+è	díkè *see 5.1.2*
2S	-	-	-	-	dí+	+m+	+`	dîm
3S	-	-	s+	-	dí+	-	+`	sə̀də̂
1P	-	-	-	-	dí+	+y+	+è	díyè
2P	-	-	-	-	dí+	+w+	+`	dîw
3P	-	-	s+	+a+	dí+	-	+`	sàdə̂
1S	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+k+	+è	lèngê *see 5.1.2*
2S	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+m+	+`	lènə̂m
3S	lè+	-	s+	-	+n̸+	-	+`	lèzə̂
1P	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+y+	+è	lènyê
2P	lè+	-	-	-	+n+	+w+	+`	lènûw
3P	lè+	-	s+	+a+	+n̸+	-	+`	lèzâ

Additional paradigms of class 1 verbs are presented in appendix 3 (p. 337).

5.1.2. Using the Conjunctive. The conjunctive verb form is a totally dependent finite verb form. Uninflected for aspect or mood, and unable to bear a negative morpheme, the conjunctive must be followed by another finite verb form which is fully inflected. It is often used to conjoin a series of verb phrases describing actions in the same aspect, and its use thereby reflects the order or sequence in which the actions occur/red. The aspect of the last, construction final verb form of the series determines the aspect of all preceding verb forms in the conjunctive. Similarly it gets its affirmative/negative reading from the final finite verb form. In many of its uses the same subject pronoun is carried by each verb of the conjoined series, though this is not obligatory. It is important to note that though the conjunctive does relate the order in which conjoined events occur, it imparts no prominence to any one of the events conjoined in this way (cf Jarrett, 1979:17-18). The conjunctive is also used in a variety of semi-idiomatic ways, some of which border on being serial constructions, and which often correspond to the modal auxiliaries of languages like English.

The conjunctive carries a great functional load in Kanuri. Only a small group of examples is presented here since the uses of the conjunctive are fully elaborated in chapter 35.

Lèngê rúkè ísə́kìn.	*I will go and see and come back.*
Lèngê cídànyí díkè ísə́kìn.	*I will go and do my work and come back.*
Sálà súwàbèrò zə̀psə̂ nápkònò.	*He came down for the morning prayer and sat.*
Kárènzə́ gə́zə̀ bìskérò lèwónò.	*He took his things and went to the dance.*
Lèngê cídànyí díkìnbâ.	*I will not go and do my work.*

serial and idiomatic uses

Tâi dàngê nòngə́nà.	*I know it perfectly.*
Wâltə̀ Mákkàrò lèwónò.	*S/He went to Mecca again.*
Râksə̀ rùwòjînbâ.	*S/He cannot write.*
Bə́rì dézə̀ bàfə̂nyí.	*S/He did not completely cook the food.*

5.2. The Imperative and the Subjunctive (Lukas' Optative). The imperative and the subjunctive moods of the verb are presented together here since they represent an overlap in the language, with their paradigms coinciding in many persons. To separate the imperative from the subjunctive is to establish an artificial distinction, since all of the imperative forms may as well be interpreted as subjunctives and do complete the subjunctive paradigm. For pedagogical purposes and based on languages which do make a distinction between the two paradigms, one could separate the two 1P forms and the 2S/P forms as imperatives. These artificially delimited imperative forms would then also occur in the corresponding person positions of the full subjunctive paradigm. This is made clear below.

5.2.1. Deriving and Writing the Imperative/Subjunctive. No prefixes are involved in the formation of the imperative/subjunctive. Tone bearing vowel suffixes occur in most persons as formatives of the imperative/subjunctive mood. There are two forms for the imperative/subjunctive of the 1P form, one being a dual form which includes the speaker and one other person, the other, the speaker and two or more other people. The dual form is identical to the 1P form of the conjunctive. Third person forms differ from the corresponding conjunctive forms in that the final syllable is high tone rather than falling. The 1S form is homophonous with the 1S conjunctive form. Second person imperative/subjunctives are formed through the application of high tone suffixes.

The verb ngin does not occur independently in the imperative/subjunctive. Its imperative/subjunctive forms used to inflect class 2 roots are shown here.

1S	+ngè	*dual*	*1P*	+nyè
			1P	+nyówó
2S	+né		*2P*	+nówó
3S	+sə́		*3P*	+sá

Forms corresponding to imperatives in other languages are presented below for the class 1 verb bù+ *eat*, and the class 2 verb lè+ *go*.

dual	*1P*	búiyè	*let's eat*	lènyê	*let's go*
	1P	búiyówó	*let's eat*	lènyówó	*let's go*
	2S	búi	*eat*	lèné	*go*
	2P	búiyó	*eat*	lènówó	*go*

These same forms are included with a subjunctive interpretation in the following complete imperative/subjunctive paradigm for the same two verbs.

1S	búkè	*I should eat*	lèngê	*I should go*
2S	búi	*you should eat/eat*	lèné	*you should go/go*
3S	zə́wú	*s/he should eat*	lèzə́	*s/he should go*
1P	búiyè	*we (2) should eat/let's eat*	lènyê	*we (2) should go/let's go*
1P	búiyówó	*we should eat/let's eat*	lènyówó	*we should go/let's go*
2P	búiyó	*you should eat/eat*	lènówó	*you should go/go*
3P	záwú	*they should eat*	lèzá	*they should go*

5.2.2. Using the Imperative/Subjunctive. As in other languages, the imperative/subjunctive forms of the verb are used in expressing orders, commands, wishes, desires, blessings, etc. Almost any number of imperative/subjunctive verb forms may occur in a series.

Nágàdə̀rò tàmòné àré.	*Finish quickly and come back.*
Fə̀ngné shé.	*Pour it out and give it to me.*
Yíwé dùwō rúiyè.	*Buy it first and let's see.*
Dê yàyé də̀mbánə́m gándé.	*Even though its empty, lick your calabash.*
Gə́rtə́gə́né.	*Scoot over.*
Kashi-à sáwà-à fátòn góné.	*Get your provisions and your companion at home (i.e. before going on trip).*
Námné.	*Sit down.*
Gùllé ísə́.	*Tell him/her to come.*
Gùllé lèzə́.	*Tell him/her to go.*
Álà kàwú lèzə́.	*May God bring us to that time.*
Álà kàttînzə́ kàmbâirò sə̀də́.	*May God make the earth light on him/her.*
Álà nə́skè súwúdə́.	*May God bring relief.*
Fátò lèfàné.	*Greet your family (= house).*
Kúdé.	*Bring it here.*

5.2.2.1. Using the Imperative/Subjunctive for Insistence. The affirmative forms of the imperative/subjunctive may be extended in use through the suffixation of +yé, pronounced by some speakers in certain environments as +bé, when the speaker wants to insist that the action of the verb be carried out. In the examples that follow, it is recorded as the suffix +yé, though it has not been assigned a prescribed spelling by the SKO. It is stronger in meaning than a simple imperative or subjunctive, and connotes insistence the need for which may have resulted from the speaker's prior expression of a command or wish which was not carried out. Thus the suffix is applied to a command or wish which has to be repeated. It may also be used to contradict when one disagrees, thus marking the verb indicating what should have been done or said in a given situation. Since the forms lend themselves to this contradictory or counterfactual use, they may also occur preceded by the adverb cá indicating a former or unrealized state, to indicate counterfactually the way things should have been done or carried out.

Gȕlléyé.	*You should say it.*
Kə̀rànéyé.	*You should read it.*
Shíà fànéyé.	*You should listen to him/her.*
Àwő láá tə̀dəyé.	*Something really should be done.*
Màrtə́gə́né wúrò búù úwù sàdéyé.	*Please, you must bring me five bags.*
Gȕlzə́yé.	*He should (go ahead and) say it.*
Fàndə́kə̀nyí wò gȕlléyé.	*(The truth is that)/You should say that I didn't get one.*
Kə́rdȉyè, "Lènyêyé, wánéè àwő láá wàájín yáwò?" wònò.	*The non-Moslem said, "We really should go, what if something were to happen?"*
Cá àréyé.	*(Hey) you should have come.*
Cá ádə̀ yàyé gőzə́yé.	*It would have been better if he had/ he should have taken this one.*
Cá Álȉáə́ bőwəzə́ gȕlzə́yé wò.	*Ali should have called her and told her.*

5.2.3. The Negative Imperative/Subjunctive. The negative imperative/subjunctive is formed through the use of the negative completive form of the verb (cf 4.5 above) preceded by the word wàndé. Thus derivational paradigms for this mood of the verb are not presented here since they coincide with those of the negative completive. Some speakers still use a plural form of the preceding word wàndé which is wàndőwő, and is used uniquely in the 2P form of the negative imperative/subjunctive. For most speakers however, the form wàndé is used regardless of person or number. The negative imperative/subjunctive may be interpreted in English with either an imperative command interpretation (*don't*) or a more polite subjunctive interpretation (*shouldn't*).

1S	wàndé búkə̀nyí/lèngə̂nyí	*I shouldn't eat/go; don't let me eat/go*
2S	wàndé bûmí/lènə̂mí	*you shouldn't eat/go; don't eat/go*
3S	wàndé zə́wùnyí/lèzə̂nyí	*s/he should't eat/go*
1P	wàndé bûiyèndé/lènyêndé	*we shouldn't eat/go; let's not eat/go*
2P	wàndé/wàndőwő bûwí/lènûwí	*you shouldn't eat/go; don't eat/go*
3P	wàndé záwùnyí/lèzânyí	*they shouldn't eat/go*

Wàndé kúttù gȕllə̂mí.	*Don't say that its a problem for you.*
Wàndőwő àbímá nònûwíró wálzə̀nyí.	*Don't let it be that you know nothing.*
Bə́rȉ núwànə́m báàrò wàndé kánnú zúgə̂mí.	*Don't stoke the fire cooking the meal in which you have no share.*
Kàngádȉ dá gə̀nyí, wàndé mándánə́m bànnànə̂mí.	*The horns are not meat, don't waste your salt.*
Wàndőwő lènûwí.	*Don't (you) go.*

CHAPTER 14: THE DERIVED FORMS OF THE VERB

1. Introduction. Building on the description of the structure of the verbal complex of the basic finite verb form presented in the preceding chapter, this chapter will elaborate that structure, adding the necessary positions for derivational morphemes. The obligatory inflectional morphemes were shown to be, in addition to the verb root, the subject pronoun morpheme and the aspect prefixes and suffixes. Derivational morphemes are those which may occur in addition to the obligatory inflectional morphemes.

If the basic finite verb form is considered (à la Lukas, 1937) as form I of the verb, then the four extended or derived forms (as introduced on page 91) are: II applied form, III passive-reflexive form, IV causative form, and V reduplicated form. In addition, the derivational morphemes indicating a syntactic object may also occur within the finite verb form. In general, the application of derivational morphemes to the synthetic verbal complex represents an extension of the basic meaning and function of the verb for syntactic and semantic reasons. For example, derivational morphemes can render a transitive verb intransitive, or even an intransitive verb transitive.

This chapter will present the four derived forms of the verb, as well as the affixed object forms of the verb. Each of the derived forms of the verb will be examined in detail, first morphologically, and then syntactically and semantically. The possible combinations of the derived forms will then be discussed with relevant examples. The chapter begins with an elaborated schema of the morpheme positions within the derived verbal complex, including those for the object morphemes.

2. Morpheme Positions in the Verbal Complex of the Derived Verb Form. In the preceding chapter, every aspect of the verb in its basic form (I) was described in relation to the seven possible morpheme positions of the verbal complex for class 1 and class 2. These seven positions and the morphemes occupying them are reproduced here, in the order in which they may occur in the verb form.

1. class 2 verb root
2. aspect prefix morpheme
3. 3rd person subject pronoun morpheme
4. 3rd person number morpheme
5. class 1 verb root (filled by n+ for class 2 verbs)
6. 1st and 2nd person subject pronoun morpheme
7. aspect suffix morpheme

When the possible derivational and object morphemes are added to this schema, nine new potential morpheme positions are added, resulting in a total of sixteen possible morpheme positions. Though this might at first glance seem overwhelmingly complex, in actual practice one is normally dealing with the derivational morpheme/s of only one of the derived forms (II, III, IV, and V) at one time in a given verb form. The entire elaborated schema with its sixteen positions is presented here for the purpose of showing the relative positions of the various derivational morphemes, in relation to the above basic (I) inflectional morphemes. This elaborated schema may serve as a reference for when one is producing a finite verb form involving more than one of the derived forms of the verb. Since the various derivational morphemes have not yet been introduced, they are referred to in the following schema according to verb class by the numbers 1 and 2, and according to derived form, using I to mark the basic seven inflectional positions, and II, III, IV, and V to refer to the derivational morphemes for the applied, passive-reflexive, causative, and reduplicated derivations of the verb, respectively.

possible morpheme positions in the elaborated verbal complex

16 possible morpheme positions	*7 basic (I) morpheme positions*	*9 derivational (II, III, IV, V) morpheme positions*
1.		*1. 2.III+IV*
2.		*2. 2.IV 3rd person subject*
3.		*3. 2.IV 3rd person number*
4.		*4. 2.IV*
5.		*5. 2.V*
6.	1. 2 verb root	
7.		*6. 1/2 object affixes*
8.	2. 1/2 aspect prefix	
9.		*7. 1/2.III*
10.	3. 1/2 3rd person subject	
11.	4. 1/2 3rd person number	
12.		*8. 1/2.II*
13.		*9. 1.V*
14.	5. 1 verb root	
15.	6. 1/2 1st & 2nd person subject	
16.	7. 1/2 aspect suffix	

The intricacies of the above schema will be elaborated as each derived form of the verb is treated below. It should be noted that all of the derivational morphemes in the verbal complex precede the position of the basic class 1 verb root.

3. The Object Affixes in the Verbal Complex. The object affixes are presented first here because they frequently occur together with other of the derivational morphemes, and because their position in the verbal complex is crucial and often relatable to other derivational morphemes. In section 4 below, it will be shown that object affixes occur as indirect objects in verb forms carrying the applied (II) derivational morpheme. For present purposes however, we are only dealing with direct objects, since if the object affixes occur alone as derivational morphemes within the basic verb form of a transitive verb they function as direct objects.

Like many other languages with a complex synthetic verb form, Kanuri can express the syntactic relationship referred to as NP of VP, i.e. that of direct object, by incorporating object affixes in the finite verb form. Overt object affix morphemes exist for objects in the first and second persons only, matched in the third person by no overt object morpheme, i.e. null. The morphemes involved, as indicated here, are apparently suppletive in relation to the other person morpheme paradigms of the language, though it is apparent that the plural morpheme +a+ does occur to distinguish plural objects from singular objects.

	singular	*plural*	*meaning*
1st person	s+	s+a+ ʼsa+	*me/we, us*
2nd person	nz+	nz+a+ ʼnza+	*you*
3rd person	0	0	*him, her, it/them*

It is apparent that the overt object affixes only represent human objects, whereas the non-overt third person may be human or non-human. This will be clarified below.

3.1. Deriving and Writing the Verb Form with Affixed Object. Let us begin by observing an imperfect aspect paradigm of a class 1 verb in comparison with a class 2 verb, both with affixed objects. Note that the objects appear to be prefixed in class 1, and infixed in class 2.

class 1		*class 2*	
rúkìn	*I see (him/her/it/them)*	lèfàngîn	*I greet (him/her/it/them)*
nzúrúkìn	*I see you-2S*	lèfànzə́kìn	*I greet you-2S*
nzórúkìn	*I see you-2P*	lèfànzákìn	*I greet you-2P*
rúmìn	*you see (him/her/it/them)*	lèfànə́mìn	*you greet (him/her/it/them)*
súrúmìn	*you see me*	lèfàsə́mìn	*you greet me*
sórúmìn	*you see us*	lèfàsámìn	*you greet us*
súrìn	*s/he sees (him/her/it/them)*	lèfàjîn	*s/he greets (him/her/it/them)*
súrìn	*s/he sees me*	lèfàshîn	*s/he greets me*
sórìn	*s/he sees us*	lèfàsâi	*s/he greets us*
nzúrìn	*s/he sees you-2S*	lèfànjîn	*s/he greets you-2S*
nzórìn	*s/he sees you-2P*	lèfànzâi	*s/he greets you-2P*
rúiyèn	*we see (him/her/it/them)*	lèfànyên	*we greet (him/her/it/them)*
nzúrúiyèn	*we see you-2S*	lèfànjíyèn	*we greet you-2S*
nzórúiyèn	*we see you-2P*	lèfànzáiyèn	*we greet you-2P*
rúwì	*you-2P see (him/her/etc)*	lèfànúwì	*you-2P greet (him/her/etc)*
súrúwì	*you-2P see me*	lèfàsúwì	*you-2P greet me*
sórúwì	*you-2P see us*	lèfàsáwì	*you-2P greet us*
sórìn	*they see (him/her/etc)*	lèfàzâi	*they greet (him/her/etc)*
nzórìn	*they see you-2S*	lèfànzâi	*they greet you-2S*
nzórìn	*they see you-2P*	lèfànzâi	*they greet you-2P*
sórìn	*they greet me*	lèfàsâi	*they greet me*
sórìn	*they greet us*	lèfàsâi	*they greet us*

It is clear from many of the examples that the singular and plural distinctions made between the subject morphemes and the object affixes are not always clearly distinct. In the third person, the position of the 3S/P subject prounoun morpheme, and its adjacent 3P plural morpheme come to coincide with the position of the object affixes, and in certain cases may also coincide in form. But before examining such problems in detail, let us look at these same two paradigms in the past tense/aspect.

cúrúkò	*I saw (him/her/etc)*	lèfàwókò	*I greeted (him/her/etc)*
njúrúkò	*I saw you-2S*	lèfàngókò	*I greeted you-2S*
njórúkò	*I saw you-2P*	lèfàngádákò	*I greeted you-2P*
cúrùm	*you saw (him/her/etc)*	lèfàâm	*you greeted (him/her/etc)*
shúrùm	*you saw me*	lèfàskâm	*you greeted me*
shórùm	*you saw us*	lèfàskádàm	*you greeted us*
cúrò	*s/he saw (him/her/etc)*	lèfàwónò	*s/he greeted (him/her/etc)*
shúrò	*s/he saw me*	lèfàskónò	*s/he greeted me*
shórò	*s/he saw us*	lèfàskónò/lèfàskádà	*s/he greeted us*
njúrò	*s/he saw you-2S*	lèfàngónò	*s/he saw you-2S*
njórò	*s/he saw you-2P*	lèfàngónò/lèfàngádà	*s/he saw you-2P*
cúrùiyè	*we saw (him/her/etc)*	lèfàáiyè	*we greeted (him/her/etc)*
njúrùiyè	*we saw you-2S*	lèfàngáiyè	*we greeted you-2S*
njórùiyè	*we saw you-2P*	lèfàngáiyè	*we greeted you-2P*

cúrùw	*you-2P saw (him/her/etc)*	lèfàâu	*you-2P greeted (him/her/etc)*
shúrùw	*you-2P saw me*	lèfàskâu	*you-2P greeted me*
shóròw	*you-2P saw us*	lèfàskádàu	*you-2P greeted us*
córð	*they saw (him/her/etc)*	lèfàádà	*they greeted (him/her/etc)*
shórð	*they saw me*	lèfàskádà	*they greeted me*
shórð	*they saw us*	lefàskádà	*they greeted us*
njórð	*they saw you-2S*	lèfàngádà	*they greeted you-2S*
njórð	*they saw you-2P*	lèfàngádà	*they greeted you-2P*

In the past paradigm for the class 2 verb, it is apparent that the supplementary number marker +d+, which normally occurs only in the 3P form of the prefixed aspects for class 2 verbs, is used here as a plural marker in certain of the object affixes. Note its occurrence especially in the object affixes of the 2S and 2P past class 2 forms.

In the earlier schema, it was shown that the object affixes occur in the position 7 of the 16 possible positions, immediately following the class 2 verb root and immediately preceding the class 1/2 aspect prefix position. They thereby constitute prefixes to class 1 verb root position (14), and in class 2 paradigms, like all other prefixes, they result in the deletion of the class 1 root n+ of the verb ngin in its inflectional role. Thus in both prefixed and nonprefixed aspects, it is apparent that when an object affix occurs, the root consonant n+ of ngin is not manifested.
It is apparent that the object affix assimilates and contracts with the prefixed third person subject pronoun morphemes in the nonprefixed aspects, e.g. *lèfà+s+s+ìn ›lèfàshín *s/he greets me*; *lèfà+nz+s+ìn ›lèfànjín *s/he greets you-2S*. In the prefixed aspects, like the past above, it is apparent that the object affix assimilates and contracts with the aspect prefix in the first and second persons, e.g. *nz+ki+rú+k+ð ›njúrúkð *I saw you-2S*; *lèfà+nz+ki+k+ð ›lèfàngókð *I greeted you-2S*. It also assimilates and contracts with the aspect prefix and the 3S/P subject pronoun morpheme in the third person, e.g. *s+ki+s+ru+ð ›shúrð *s/he saw me*, for class 1 verb forms, and only with the aspect prefix for class 2 verb forms since the auxiliary person markers are used there when the 3S/P subject pronoun morpheme is apparently deleted by the aspect prefix (as described on page 122), e.g.*lèfà+nz+ki+s̸+n+ð ›lèfàngónð *s/he greeted you-2S*.

Some of these processes and idiosyncracies are made clearer in the following derivational paradigms which include the seven basic positions of the verb form plus the object affix position (7). The positions are numbered here according to the sixteen position schema of section 2 above. It is impossible to present all of the possible variations of these forms which result from the application of the object affixes to the various kinds of class 1 and class 2 verbs. Therefore only a few examples are presented here, always with derivations in the non-prefixed imperfect aspect and the prefixed past.

Class 1. The verb yí+ *give* (group 3 of class 1 verbs) is very commonly used with the object affixes applied to its basic form (I). In this use it is a bit irregular since one would expect the object affixes to indicate direct objects. For this verb however they indicate the indirect objects or recipients of the action of the verb, even though the verb is not also marked with the applied (II) derivational morpheme. In addition, the supplementary number (plural +d+) is used in the object affixes to indicate plural indirect objects. The class 2 root position (position 6) is excluded from the following derivational paradigms.

	7	*8*	*10*	*11*	*14*	*15*	*16*	*object affixed verb*
1S	nz+	-	-	-	yí+	+k+	+ìn	njíkìn *I give you*
1S	nza	-	-	-	yí+	+k+	+ìn	nzádə̀kìn *I give you-2P*

	7	8	10	11	14	15	16	object affixed form	
2S	s+	-	-	-	yí+	+m+	+ìn	shímìn	*you give me*
2S	sa+d+	-	-	-	yí+	+m+	+ìn	sàdə́mìn	*you give us*
3S	s+	-	s+	-	yí+	-	+ìn	shìn	*s/he gives me*
3S	sa+d+	-	s+	-	yí+	-	+ìn	sádìn	*s/he gives us*
3S	nz+	-	s+	-	yí+	-	+ìn	njìn	*s/he gives you-2S*
3S	nza+d+	-	s+	-	yí+	-	+ìn	nzádìn	*s/he gives you-2P*
1P	nz+	-	-	-	yí+	+y+	+ìn	njíyèn	*we give you-2S*
1P	nza+d+	-	-	-	yí+	+y+	+ìn	nzádìyèn	*we give you-2P*
2P	s+	-	-	-	yí+	+w+	+ì	shíwì	*you give me*
2P	sa+d+	-	-	-	yí+	+w+	+ì	sàdúwì	*you give us*
3P	s+	-	s+	+a+	yí+	+d+	+ìn	sádìn	*they give me*
3P	sa+d+	-	s+	+a+	yí+	+d+	+ìn	sádìn	*they give us*
3P	nz+	-	s+	+a+	yí+	+d+	+ìn	nzádìn	*they give you-2S*
3P	nza+d+	-	s+	+a+	yí+	+d+	+ìn	nzádìn	*they give you-2P*
1S	nz+	ka+	-	-	yí+	+k+	+ò	njókò	*I gave you-2S*
1S	nza+d+	ka+	-	-	yí+	+k+	+ò	njàdə́kò	*I gave you-2P*
2S	s+	ka+	-	-	yí+	+m+	-	shâm	*you gave me*
2S	sa+d+	ka+	-	-	yí+	+m+	-	shádə̀m	*you gave us*
3S	s+	ka+	s+	-	yí+	+n+	+ò	shâinò	*s/he gave me*
3S	sa+d+	ka+	s+	-	yí+	-	+ò	shádò	*s/he gave us*
3S	nz+	ka+	s+	-	yí+	+n+	+ò	njâinò	*s/he gave you-2S*
3S	nza+d+	ka+	s+	-	yí+	-	+ò	njádò	*s/he gave you-2P*
1P	nz+	ka+	-	-	yí+	+y+	+è	njâiyè	*we gave you-2S*
1P	nza+d+	ka+	-	-	yí+	+y+	+è	njádìyè	*we gave you-2P*
2P	s+	ka+	-	-	yí+	+w+	-	shâu	*you gave me*
2P	sa+d+	ka+	-	-	yí+	+w+	-	shádùw	*you gave us*
3P	s+	ka+	s+	+a+	yí+	+d+	+ò	shádò	*they gave me*
3P	sa+d+	ka+	s+	+a+	yí+	+d+	+ò	shádò	*they gave us*
3P	nz+	ka+	s+	+a+	yí+	+d+	+ò	njádò	*they gave you-2S*
3P	nza+d+	ka+	s+	+a+	yí+	+d+	+ò	njádò	*they gave you-2P*

Here it is apparent that the 3S forms are clearly distinct, one from the other for both aspects. The 3S forms with plural objects however coincide with the 3P form when the latter has either a singular or a plural object. This overlap clearly arises in these persons and numbers for both verb classes, whether the objects are pluralized through the supplementary 3P number morpheme +d+ as in these paradigms, or simply through the 3P number morpheme +a+, as was the case with the verb *see*, the earlier observed class 1 verb.

Class 2. In the following derivational paradigms, the position 6 is added to incorporate the class 2 verb root. Position 14 has been eliminated here since the class 1 root n+ of ngin is always deleted in presence of the prefixed object affix.

	6	7	8	10	11	15	16	object affixed form	
1S	má+	nz+	-	-	-	+k+	+ìn	mánzə̀kìn	*I look for you-2S*
1S	má+	nza+	-	-	-	+k+	+ìn	mánzàkìn	*I look for you-2P*
2S	má+	s+	-	-	-	+m+	+ìn	másə̀mìn	*you look for me*
2S	má+	sa+	-	-	-	+m+	+ìn	másàmìn	*you look for us*
3S	má+	s+	-	s+	-	-	+ìn	máshìn	*s/he looks for me*
3S	má+	sa+	-	s+	-	-	+ì	másài	*s/he looks for us*
3S	má+	nz+	-	s+	-	-	+ìn	mánjìn	*s/he looks for you-2S*
3S	má+	nza+	-	s+	-	-	+ì	mánzài	*s/he looks for you-2P*
1P	má+	nz+	-	-	-	+y+	+ìn	mánjìyèn	*we look for you-2S*
1P	má+	nza+	-	-	-	+y+	+ìn	mánjàyèn	*we look for you-2P*
2P	má+	s+	-	-	-	+w+	+ì	másùwì	*you look for me*

	6	*7*	*8*	*10*	*11*	*15*	*16*	*object affixed form*	
2P	má+	sa+	-	-	-	+w+	+ì	másàwì	*you look for us*
3P	má+	s+	-	s+	+a+	-	+ì	másài	*they look for me*
3P	má+	sa+	-	s+	+a+	-	+ì	másài	*they look for us*
3P	má+	nz+	-	s+	+a+	-	+ì	mánzài	*they look for you-2S*
3P	má+	nza+	-	s+	+a+	-	+ì	mánzài	*they look for you-2P*

In the above imperfect aspect derivations, it is apparent that the plural form of the object is consistently distinguished from the singular by the the plural morpheme +a+ and that the supplementary number morpheme +d+ does not occur. The same overlaps in the third person forms that were described earlier, again occur in this paradigm.

In the basic nonderived (I) form of the past of class 2 verbs, the supplementary person/number morphemes occur in the 3S (+n+) and the 3P (+d+), to indicate the subject pronoun. The same was observed with regard to the other prefixed aspects as well. In the following derivational paradigms of the past of verb class 2 with object affixes, it is apparent that in certain persons the plural (sometimes 3P) morpheme +d+ is used to distinguish the plural form of the object pronoun from the singular. This is apparent in all of the forms with the exception of the 3P form. If it is also used in the 3P, then it apparently collapses with that same morpheme being used as the 3P subject pronoun morpheme. The second person forms provide evidence that the composite plural object affix morphemes (i.e. made up of a person element s+/nz+ and number elements +a±d+) of position 7 may be discontinuous in the prefixed aspects, their elements being disjoined one from the other by the past aspect prefix of position 8 (ka+). This is captured in the following paradigms by showing such disjoined number morphemes as occurring after the aspect prefix, and thus essentially creating a supplementary morpheme position indicated by the *(+7)* next to position 8.

	6	*7*	*8(+7)*	*10*	*11*	*15*	*16*	*object affixed form*	
1S	má+	nz+	ka+	-	-	+k+	+ò	mángòkò	*I looked for you-2S*
1S	má+	nz+	ka+d+	-	-	+k+	+ò	mángàdàkò	*I looked for you-2P*
2S	má+	s+	ka+	-	-	+m+	-	máskàm	*you looked for me*
2S	má+	s+	ka+d+	-	-	+m+	-	máskàdàm	*you looked for us*
3S	má+	s+	ka+	s+	-	+n+	+ò	máskònò	*s/he looked for me*
3S	má+	s+	ka+d+	s+	-	-	+à	máskàdà	*s/he looked for us*
3S	má+	nz+	ka+	s+	-	+n+	+ò	mángònò	*s/he looked for you-2S*
3S	má+	nz+	ka+d+	s+	-	-	+à	mángàdà	*s/he looked for you-2P*
1P	má+	nz+	ka+	-	-	+y+	+è	mángàiyè	*we looked for you-2S*
1P	má+	nz+	ka+d+	-	-	+y+	+è	mángàdìyè	*we looked for you-2P*
2P	má+	s+	ka+	-	-	+w+	-	máskàu	*you looked for me*
2P	má+	s+	ka+d+	-	-	+w+	-	máskàdàu	*you looked for us*
3P	má+	s+	ka+	s+	+a+	+d+	+à	máskàdà	*they looked for me*
3P	má+	s+	ka+d+	s+	+a+	+d+	+à	máskàdà	*they looked for us*
3P	má+	nz+	ka+	s+	+a+	+d+	+à	mángàdà	*they looked for you-2S*
3P	má+	nz+	ka+d+	s+	+a+	+d+	+à	mángàdà	*they looked for you-2P*

Additional paradigms of the object affixed verb forms of both class 1 and class 2 in all verb aspects are presented in appendix 4 (p. 341).

3.2. Using the Verb Form with Affixed Object. In Kanuri, sentences with first and second person objects occur in three different forms: 1) object affixed to the verb form, 2) object pronoun manifested independently and marked with the associative postposition and no marking on the verb, and 3) object pronoun both affixed to the verb form and manifested independently. Thus the following three forms of the sentence *I saw/have seen you* in the perfect aspect have been considered in most treatments of Kanuri grammar as synonymous versions of the same sentence.

1) Nzúrúkənà.
2) Nyíà rúkə́nà. *I saw/have seen you.*
3) Nyíà nzúrúkə́nà.

Sentences with third person objects have two possible forms: 1) null marking of the verb and no independent object pronoun, and 2) null marking of the verb with expressed independent object pronoun.

1) Rúkə́nà. *I saw/have seen it/him/her.*
2) Shíà rúkə́nà. *I saw/have seen it/him/her.*

According to the present analysis, the above variants of these sentences are not all synonymous versions, the overt syntactic differences in fact reflecting semantic differences. In certain environments I would however agree that certain of them may be essentially synonymous.

It is possible that these various ways of expressing objects have evolved at different stages in the history of the language. Nevertheless, according to the present analysis, the affixed object marking in the first and second persons, and the null marking in the third person represent the most neutral unmarked way of expressing pronoun objects in verbal sentences. The semantic differences between these and the forms with independent pronoun object marked by the associative postposition are discussed in detail on page 211.

4. The Applied (II) Derivation of the Verb. The application of the object affixes as described in section 3 above, in no way affects the basic (I) function and meaning of the verb. However the applied form (II) of the verb, and the other derived forms of the verb (III, IV, and V) can be said to alter the syntactic function of the basic form of the verb, thus extending it semantically. The applied form of the verb is used more than any of the other derived forms of the verb, rivaled perhaps only by the passive-reflexive form (III). It is also used frequently in combination with the derivational morphemes of other derived forms, as well as with the affixed objects. In the formation of the causative derived form (IV) the applied morphemes occur as formatives of that extension (see section 6 below).

The applied derivation is much more consistent and productive in its application to class 2 verbs than to class 1 verbs. Its phonological form also varies for class 1 verbs, but not for class 2. It will be apparent that the applied derivational morpheme has varying semantic effects in its extension of the basic verb, some of which may be predictable on the basis of inherent transitivity, and other factors. Some class 2 verbs will be presented which have no basic (I) form, but only an applied (II) form.

4.1. Deriving and Writing the Applied (II) Derivation. The following derivational paradigms present the applied derivation of class 1 and class 2 verbs in the non-prefixed imperfect aspect and the prefixed past. Complete paradigms for these and other verbs in all aspects are presented in appendix 5 (p. 343).

Class 1. The applied derivational morpheme +kə+ (allomorph +gə+), is used consistently to produce the class 2 applied form in position 12 (between the third person subject morphemes and the class 1 root). Analogously, for a very few class 1 verbs, this same morpheme may occur between the class 1 root and the first and second person subject pronoun (positions 14 and 15), a position not recorded in our original sixteen position schema since it is rarely used. This represents the only case of a derivational morpheme following the class 1 verb root, and is very likely a relatively recent development, made perhaps by analogy with the younger class 2 structure. For most class 1 verbs the applied derivation is formed by prefixing (à la Lukas, 1937:80), yir+, or yirgə+/yikkə+ (assimilation), to the class 1 verb root, in the position 12 of our schema (the same position as for the class 2 applied morpheme). Lukas (1937:80) adds that "It is probable that yir+ (yirgə+/yikkə+) is made up of an old auxiliary verb yi and r, or rgə (kkə) which are the signs of the applied form."

The applied derivation of the class 1 verb tá+ *grab, seize* in the imperfect and the past is shown in the following derivational paradigms. This is one of the more regular of the class 1 applied forms. The prefix yir+ alone is used, and no additional applied morpheme occurs in the post-class 1 root position as described above. No assimilation of the prefix to the initial voiceless obstruent of the root occurs. The meaning of the applied form may be benefactive meaning *grab/seize for s.o.*, or it may be interpreted causatively, meaning to *have/make grabbed/seized*. It is used most often with a dative postpositional phrase marked by the indirect postposition +rò. It occurs frequently in the following environment: Nyírò kə̀lân yìrtákìn. *I will remind you. (lit: I will grab it in head for you).*

	8	*10*	*11*	*12*	*14*	*15*	*16*	*applied verb form*
1S	-	-	-	yir+	tá+	+k+	+ìn	yìrtákìn *I grab/seize for*
2S	-	-	-	yir+	tá+	+m+	+ìn	yìrtámìn
3S	-	s+	-	yir+	tá+	-	+ì	sə̀rtâi
1P	-	-	-	yir+	tá+	+y+	+ìn	yìrtáiyèn
2P	-	-	-	yir+	tá+	+w+	+ì	yìrtáwì
3P	-	s+	+a+	yir+	tá+	-	+ì	sàrtâi
1S	ki+	-	-	yir+	tá+	+k+	+ò	cìrtákò *I grabbed/seized for*
2S	ki+	-	-	yir+	tá+	+m+	-	cìrtâm
3S	ki+	s+	-	yir+	tá+	-	+ò	cìrtâ
1P	ki+	-	-	yir+	tá+	+y+	+è	cìrtáiyè
2P	ki+	-	-	yir+	tá+	+w+	-	cìrtâu
3P	ki+	s+	+a+	yir+	tá+	-	+ò	càrtâ

Class 2. As indicated above, the applied morpheme +kə+/+gə+ occurs very consistently as the indicator of the applied form of the verb for all class 2 verbs. It occurs in position 12 of the 16 position schema. It often occurs intervocalically and there is pronounced and written according to the obstruent weakening processes described on page 19. Position 6, the position of the class 2 verb root, is of course revived in the following derivational paradigms. Position 14 is not shown here since the occurrence of the prefixed applied morpheme again results in the deletion of the class 1 root n+ of the verb ngin.

	6	*8*	*10*	*11*	*12*	*15*	*16*	*applied verb form*
1S	mànà+	-	-	-	+kə+	+k+	+ìn	mànàgə́kìn *I speak to*
2S	mànà+	-	-	-	+kə+	+m+	+ìn	mànàgə́mìn
3S	mànà+	-	s+	-	+kə+	-	+ìn	mànàzə́gìn
1P	mànà+	-	-	-	+kə+	+y+	+ìn	mànàgə̀iyèn
2P	mànà+	-	-	-	+kə+	+w+	+ì	mànàgə́wì
3P	mànà+	-	s+	+a+	+kə+	-	+ì	mànàzáaì
1S	mànà+	ki+	-	-	+kə+	+k+	+ò	mànàjígə́kò *I spoke to*
2S	mànà+	ki+	-	-	+kə+	+m+	-	mànàjígə̀m
3S	mànà+	ki+	s+	-	+kə+	-	+ò	mànàjíwò/mànàzə́wò
1P	mànà+	ki+	-	-	+kə+	+y+	+è	mànàjígə̀iyè
2P	mànà+	ki+	-	-	+kə+	+w+	-	mànàjígə̀u
3P	mànà+	ki+	s+	+a+	+kə+	-	+à	mànàjáà/mànàzáà

4.2. Using the Applied (II) Derivation. A common feature of nearly all of the applied forms of the verb for both classes is that they generally extend the basic (I) from of the verb by adding another potential noun phrase position syntactically. For example a basic intransitive verb normally has only the subject noun phrase position within the finite verb form. This applied form of such a verb may become transitive and therefore able to accept a direct object noun phrase, or it may remain intransitive and become able to accept an oblique benefactive/dative/indirect object noun phrase. A verb which is transitive in its basic form may in its applied form become able to accept a benefactive/dative/indirect object noun phrase. For some verbs the applied form may have a causative interpretation and be synonymous with the causative form (IV) of the verb. The syntactic changes effected by the applied form in relation to the basic form are matched by an even greater range of semantic changes, some of which are easily predictable, others of which may seem totally without foundation, and idiomatically unpredictable. Many of the semantic changes can in fact be related to the syntactic phenomenon, expressed here, that an additional noun phrase position has been added. This can be related to the different semantic subgroups of applied verb forms which were proposed by Lukas (1937:80-83). These are: 1) direction, i.e. carrying out the action described by the basic form of the verb *to* or *towards*, or in some other locational or directional relation to the new noun phrase position, e.g. bânggìn *I beat/hit* becomes bákkəkìn *I beat/pound in/into*, 2) extension of the action in a certain direction (very similar to the previous group), where the new noun phrase is often a container, e.g. fîngìn *I pour out/throw away* becomes fígəkìn *I pour into*, 3) reference to another person or thing, where the new noun phrase may be the recipient or beneficiary of the action, or the thing in reference to which the action is carried out, as in e.g. nâmngìn *I sit down* which becomes nápkəkìn *I enter the employ of s.o.*, 4) restriction, localization, where the new noun phrase is the location to which the action of the verb is restricted, or to which the object of the verb is confined, e.g. sâmngìn *I collect/gather up* which becomes sápkəkìn *I gather/pile up in one place*, 5) relation to another, implying an action for the *interests* of some one else, or an action of *helping* another, where the new noun phrase is the beneficiary, e.g. hâmngìn *I lift* which becomes hápkəkìn *I lift for s.o./I help s.o. lift*. Lukas' remaining categories were 6) reference to a base, 7) accompaniment, 8) imitation, 9) effort, 10) intensity, and 11) causative action. He very helpfully pointed out that all intransitive class 2 verbs derived from nouns and adjectival nouns can be made into transitive causative verbs in the applied form and would fall into his group 11.

I think that these various groupings are extremely relevant and I would suggest that both the student of spoken Kanuri, and of Kanuri grammar refer to the citation from Lukas. Though helpful, I would suggest that many applied forms might fall into more than one of the suggested groups, and thus a rather large sample of class 1 and class 2 forms are presented here with their meaning, and the meaning of the basic (I) form. They are shown in alphabetical order, ungrouped. Many are from Lukas, 1937.

I		*II*	
àjàmngîn	*vi be surprised/amazed*	àjàpkəkìn	*vt amaze, surprise*
bânggìn	*beat, hit*	bákkəkìn	*beat/pound/drive in*
bàrêngìn	*hoe, farm*	bàrégəkìn	*hoe towards*
bòtə́kìn	*tell story*	yìrwòtə́kìn	*tell story about s.o.*
bákìn	*pound (in mortar)*	yìrwákìn/yìrgəwákìn	*pound for, help pound*
búkìn	*eat*	yìrgəwúkìn	*cheat*
bàfúkìn	*vi ripen*	yìrbàfúkìn/yìrgəbàfúkìn	*vt ripen, make mature*
bàyènngîn	*explain*	bàyèngə́kìn	*explain to s.o.*

I	*II*
bǒngîn *lie down*	bògə́kìn *make love to, lie on; make lie down*
cǐngîn *stand/get up; take off*	cìgə́kìn *assault, confront abruptly*
dǎngîn *stop, stand*	dàgə́kìn *stop in on, visit*
dǎlngîn *steal*	dàlgə́kìn *steal for s.o.*
dâlngìn *dye*	dálgə̀kìn *dip into*
dûngìn *drive/chase away*	dúgə̀kìn *drive/chase into/towards*
dàwùnbǎngîn *vi be excluded*	dàwùnbàgə́kìn *vt exclude*
dôndǐngîn *get sick*	dòndìgə́kìn *make sick*
dǎmngîn *prevent, refuse*	dàpkə́kìn *confine to (space), shut s.o. in*
dǐngîn *mix*	dìgə́kìn *mix and put into*
dórə̀kìn *pluck*	yìrdórə̀kìn *pluck and put into*
dùtə́kìn *sew*	yìrdùtə́kìn *sew at/towards; lead to*
díkìn *do*	yìrdíkìn *do as s.o. does, imitate s.o.*
də̀rìngîn *become weak*	də̀rìgə́kìn *make weak*
də̀gákìn, də̀gâi *live, exist*	yìrdə̀gákìn, yìrdə̀gâi *3S be left up to s.o.*
fǔngîn *blow*	fùgə́kìn *blow at/into; stoke fire up*
fêrngìn *spread/lay out*	férgə̀kìn *spread out on/over*
fîngìn *pour out*	fígə̀kìn *pour into*
fə́lêngìn *point out, indicate*	fə́légə̀kìn *show to*
fônggìn *meet, come together*	fókkə̀kìn *make meet, introduce to, add onto*
fùwǔngîn *vi move forward*	fùwùgə́kìn *vt advance, move forward*
fárə̀kìn *slander*	yìrfárə̀kìn *slander about*
fǎrngîn *jump, fly*	fàrgə́kìn *fly into/towards*
fə́rə́sə̀ngìn *escape*	fə́rə́sə̀gə̀kìn *escape from/to*
féfêngìn *unwind*	féfégə̀kìn *unwind over/onto*
fâlngìn *divide, split; ford*	fálgə̀kìn *take s.o. across a river; divide for s.o.*
fə̀rtə́kìn *pluck*	fə̀rtə́gə́kìn/yìwə̀rtə́kìn *pluck and put into*
fə̀rə̂mngìn *open*	fə̀rə́mgə̀kìn *open towards*
gôngìn *take*	gógə̀kìn *= I; marry off, take (bride) in marriage for*
gándə̀kìn *lick*	yìrgándə̀kìn/yìrgə̀gándə̀kìn *lick for; help lick*
gàgə́kìn, gàyîn *vi enter*	yìkkə́kìn, sə̀kkîn *insert, penetrate*
gǔlngîn *say*	gùlə́gə́kìn *say to, teach (to)*
gákìn, zə̀gâi *follow*	yìrgákìn, sə̀rgâi *increase, augment* yìrzə̀gákìn, sə̀rzə̀gâi *follow after, send after*
gàdèngîn *become different*	gàdègə́kìn *make different*
hâmngìn *vi cool off*	hámgə̀kìn *vt cool off*
hâmngìn *lift up*	hápkə̀kìn *lift up for s.o.; help lift up*
jérə̀kìn *tie*	yìrgə̀jérə̀kìn/yìrjérə̀kìn, sə̀rgə̀jérìn/sə̀rjérìn *tie/bind to*
kə̀rǎngîn *read, study*	kə̀rə̀gə́kìn *read to s.o.*
kálânggìn *turn over, return*	kálákkə̀kìn *give back to s.o.*
kôngìn *pass, surpass*	kógə̀kìn *3S echo in the ears*
kàrə́kìn *carve, forge*	yìkkàrə́kìn *carve/forge in the likeness of*
kàsə́kìn *run*	yìrgàsə́kìn *run after, run along with*
kə́ndə̀kìn *tie baby on back*	yìrgə́ndə̀kìn *tie baby on s.o.'s back*
kórə̀kìn *ask*	yìkkórə̀kìn *ask about*
kə̂lngîn *join*	kə́lgə̀kìn *add on to, put on more of*
kòkkǒngîn *lock up, padlock*	kòkkògə́kìn *lock into*
kùrûmngìn *scoop out*	kùrúpkə̀kìn *scoop out and pour into*
kâmngìn *cut, cut off*	kámgə̀kìn *cut off according to/in relation to; patch*
kàmǎnngîn *knead*	kàmàtkə́kìn *knead and put into*
kásə̀ngìn *saddle horse; wean*	kásə̀gə̀kìn *give child to s.o. during weaning*
kǎmngîn *meet, catch/gather*	kàpkə́kìn *go and meet and accompany to destination*
líkìn *learn, get used to*	yìkkə̂líkìn *teach, make learn*
làrə́kìn *live in luxury*	yìkkə̂làrə́kìn *make live in luxury*
lórə̀kìn, sùlórìn *gather up*	yìrgə̂lórə̀kìn, sə̀kkə̂lórìn *gather and take away to*
lúwùkìn, sùlúyìn *go out*	yìrgə̂lúwùkìn/yìkkə̂lúwùkìn, sə̀kkə̂lúyìn/sə̀rgə̂lúyìn *rush*
làdə́kìn, sə̀làdîn *sell*	yìkkə̂làdə́kìn, sə̀kkə̂làdîn *sell to; make buy*

I		*II*	
lênngìn	*sleep*	létkə̀kìn	*put to sleep*
lálângìn	*winnow*	lálágə̀kìn	*winnow and let fall into*
mànângîn	*speak, talk*	mànàgə́kìn	*speak/talk to*
mówòkìn	*take; marry divorcé*	yìkkə̀mówòkìn/yìrgə̀mówòkìn	*arrange divorcé marriage*
múkìn	*put on (clothes)*	yìkkə̀múkìn/yìrgə̀múkìn	*dress s.o.*
mèrə́kìn	*recover, get well*	yìkkə̀mèrə́kìn	*cure, make well*
nâmngìn	*sit down*	nápkə̀kìn	*become dependent on, enter employ of; concentrate on (of one's mind)*
ndə̂mngìn	*tie*	ndə́pkə̀kìn	*tie up to, tie onto*
nàtə́kìn	*sow, plant*	yìkkə̀nàtə́kìn	*have sown*
ràákìn	*like, love*	yìkkə̀ràákìn	*make s.o. love s.o.*
rə̀mbə́kìn	*reimburse*	yìkkə̀rə̀mbə́kìn	*reimburse creditor's creditor*
ságə̀kìn	*lower, bring down*	yìrságə̀kìn	*help bring down*
sàwúkìn	*winnow*	yìrsàwúkìn	*winnow into*
sâmngìn	*rub*	sámgə̀kìn	*rub onto/into*
sə̂rngîn	*vi slide, move over*	sə̀rgə́kìn	*vt push, slide over*
sàlîngîn	*pray*	sàlìgə́kìn	*pray in direction of/towards*
tânggîn	*recall, remember*	tàkkə́kìn	*remind*
tàlârngîn	*dangle*	tàlàrgə́kìn	*dangle at/towards*
tákìn	*grab, seize*	yìrtákìn/yìrtágə̀kìn	*make/help grab; bring (to mind)*
tándə̀kìn	*build, construct*	yìrtándə̀kìn	*build according to e.g. along a line*
tíkìn, sə̀tîn	*vi equal/suffice*	yìrtíkìn, sə̀rtîn	*vt complete, make up balance*
tèrə́kìn	*remove, carry away*	yìktə̀rə́kìn	*remove/transport to*
tûlngìn	*wash*	túlgə̀kìn	*wash again*
târngìn	*vt scatter, disperse*	tárgə̀kìn	*vt scatter/disperse towards*
tûnngîn	*stuff*	tùtkə́kìn	*stuff into*
tùsə̂ngîn	*rest, spend time*	tùskə́kìn	*stop in and spend time with sick person*
tə̀rə̂mngîn	*hobble along*	tə̀rə̀pkə́kìn	*hobble/hop over*
tâmngìn	*pour*	tápkə̀kìn	*pour into/for*
wârngîn	*grab, snatch*	wàrgə́kìn	*side with s.o. in argument*
wûngìn	*look at, watch*	wúgə̀kìn	*expect, watch out for*
wângìn	*dislike*	wágə̀kìn	*ignore*
*yùrúkìn		yùkkùrúkìn/yùkkùrúgə̀kìn, sùkkùrîn	*fall, fall down*
yìmbə̀lə́kìn	*fill*	yìkkə̀mbə̀lə́kìn	*fill completely, top up*
yèzə́kìn	*kill*	yìryèzə́kìn/yìrgə̀yèzə́kìn, sə̀rcèjîn/sə̀rgə̀cèjîn	*overkill, kill again*
yírə̀kìn	*cry, weep*	yìkkə́rə̀kìn	*cry/weep about*
yônggìn	*drive away*	yókkə̀kìn	*drive towards*
zûngìn	*push*	zúgə̀kìn	*push into/towards (e.g. wood into fire)*
zângìn	*beat, pound, tap*	zágə̀kìn	*beat (e.g. drum) for/in honor of*

4.3. Defective Class 2 Verbs in the Applied (II) Derivation. The fact that class 2 verbs have entered Kanuri in so many stages has resulted in certain irregularities within the derivational system. In certain cases verbs may have come from another language or from elsewhere within Kanuri to fulfill a specific need or lack. Hypothetically, it is possible that such a need might lend itself particularly well to the general syntactic and semantic characteristics associated with one of the derived forms of the verb. Thus such a recently conceived class 2 root might enter the class 2 system as a derived form carrying the derivational morphemes, and might only occur in this derived role. Such a verb would therefore not have a basic (I) nonderived form. Such defective verbs may have as their most basic form, the applied (II) derivation, or e.g. the passive-reflexive (III) derivation, and either could then have the combined II+III form.

In the following list, the verbs presented represent a considerable number of defective class 2 verbs that have been attested in the Yerwa dialect as normally occurring only in the applied (II) derivation. It was observed that the applied derivation of a verb normally adds an additional noun phrase position to the verbal sentence, and that the new noun phrase may be a direct object for example in the applied forms that have a causative meaning, but that more often the new noun phrase position is oblique or indirect, and when manifested independently it is marked by the indirect postposition +rə̀. Many of the defective class 2 verbs cited here require (syntactically and semantically) a noun phrase with this oblique relation to subject or subject and direct object, which is also marked by +rə̀ when manifested independently.

One such defective verb included here is the verb whose root is nâ+ (*I *nângìn, *nâjìn, II nâgə̀kìn, nâzə́gìn) which means *catch up to, attain, reach, meet*. With a direct object, the meaning is *meet, run into*. With a +rə̀ marked object the meaning is *catch up to/with*. This verb provides an example of how confusion may exist between the verb classes, since for some speakers this verb is a class 1 verb, for others a class 2 verb. It should be noted that when a class 2 verb has only an applied (II) form, that the applied morpheme +kə+/+gə+ results in the deletion of the class 1 root consonant n+ of ngin. Thus for this verb the familiar *nângìn, *nânə̀mìn with +n+ do not occur in the 1S and 2S forms, but rather only the applied nâgə̀kìn, nâgə̀mìn. Because the n+ is deleted, these first and second person forms appear more like class 1 verb forms than class 2 verb forms, since in the class 1 1S form, the 1S subject pronoun morpheme +k+ is always apparent. In some Kanuri ideolects, and perhaps in some entire dialects as well, this verb is conjugated as a class 1 verb in the basic (I) form, and thus they produce the 3S/P imperfect forms with prefixed subject pronoun morphemes as sə̀nâyìn, sànâyìn, rather than the class 2 applied forms nâzə̀gìn, nâzàài. Such speakers also produce a class 1 verbal noun for this verb, i.e. nàwə̀, rather than the class 2 applied verbal noun nâtə́gə́. Some speakers might accept both the class 1 and the class 2 applied forms of this verb, and use them interchangeably, or differentiate them in some way. The sources of this apparent confusion suggested here, may provide insight into how this came about, and how other such cases might be unraveled when encountered in the study of Kanuri. In Tubu, in the verb class corresponding to Kanuri verb class 1, the root nak+ means either *reach* or *put, place*. It is possible that the Kanuri noun nâ *place*, is a nominal derived from this root, and it is possible that this derived nominal became the root of the defective class 2 verb nâ+ under consideration here. Therefore this cross class confusion may have resulted from the similarity of the e.g. 1S form of the class 2 applied verb form with the same form of a class 1 verb, plus a possible other language source from a different verb class. Other cases of this type will be cited at various points in the rest of this chapter.

The following are class 2 verbs attested only in the applied (II) derivation.

bârígə̀kìn, bârízə̀gìn *warn*
cískə̀kin/njískə̀kìn, císsə̀gìn/njíssə̀gìn *take care of, look after*
dàwùràgə́kìn, dàwùràzə́gìn *string arrow on bow; load pack animal; nearly hit*
fâtkə̀kìn, fâtsə̀gìn *lean up against*
(fátkə̀kìn,) fâtsə̀gìn *vi be lost, get lost (IV = vt lose)*
fùnàgə́kìn, fùnàzə́gìn *tuck (tail/private parts) between legs*
gə̀làskə́kìn, gə̀làssə́gìn *roll up sleeves*
gə́mgə̀kìn, gə́mzə̀gìn *reach, attain, go so far as to ...*
jègə̀rgə́kìn, jègə̀rzə́gìn *verify, confirm*
jàlàpkə́kìn, jàlàpsə́gìn *load (sack) onto animal*
kàskə́kìn, kàssə́gìn *settle up debts*
kùlítkə̀kìn, kùlítsə̀gìn *feed (newborn)*

látkə̀kìn, látsə̀gìn	*conceal against body*
láskə̀kìn, lássə̀gìn	*hang up on, dangle from*
lìmbə́rgə̀kìn, lìmbə́rzə̀gìn	*stick/paste on*
lúgə̀kìn, lúzə̀gìn	*string up on/through*
mìtkə́kìn, mìtsə́gìn	*stifle, suppress, hold back*
mùnùkkə́kìn, mùnùksə́gìn	*dent in*
nágə̀kìn, názə̀gìn/sə̀náyìn	*catch up with, meet*
nànágə̀kìn, nànázə̀gìn	*emphasize, reiterate*
ngúrtkə̀kìn, ngúrtsə̀gìn	*strangle*
ràzàgə́kìn, ràzàzə́gìn	*lean against*
rə́pkə̀kìn, rə́psə̀gìn	*reach, go as far as;* nə́ngì -- *visit a friend*
rískə̀kìn, ríssə̀gìn	*mock, make fun of*
sàwàgə́kìn, sàwàzə́gìn	*befriend*
súrútkə̀kìn, súrútsə̀gìn	*loop through*
tèyètkə́kìn, tèyètsə́gìn *A*	*pray for s.o.*
tə̀ngàgə́kìn, tə̀ngàzə́gìn	*lean up against*
tə́rmáskə̀kìn, tə́rmássə̀gìn	*massage (usu legs)*
wúngə̀kìn, wúnzə̀gìn	*go along with*
zàmzàmgə́kìn, zàmzàmzə́gìn	*sprinkle out onto*
zə̀mə̀rgə́kìn, zə̀mə̀rzə́gìn	*insert quickly into*

The defective class 2 verb fát+ *get lost*, and the class 2 verb bò+ *lie down*, both have idiosyncratic applied forms derived in the way that class 1 applied forms are derived, through the prefix yir+. These are shown here with their meanings.

bőngín, bòjín *lie down*	yìrwògə́kìn, sə̀rwóyìn
(fátkə̀kìn,) fátsə̀gìn *vi get lost*	yìrwátə̀kìn, sə̀rwátìn *vt get s.o. lost*

The uses of the applied (II) derivation of the verb in combination with other derived forms of the verb will be presented subsequently.

5. The Passive-Reflexive (III) Derivation of the Verb. As its name implies, the passive-reflexive (III) derivation is used to produce (from the basic (I) nonderived form) verb forms that lend themselves to translation as passive and/or reflexive verb forms in other languages. Plural verb forms with a reciprocal interpretation are also formed with this derivation. It was noted that the applied (II) derivation essentially extends a verb by adding another noun phrase position to those possible in its basic form. The passive-reflexive, in many cases, changes the meaning of a verb so that a noun phrase position is essentially eliminated, since the action of e.g. a transitive verb is carried out on its syntactic subject in the passive-reflexive form, making it the semantic object of the action of the verb. These and other uses of this derived form are examined in 5.2, below.

5.1. Deriving and Writing the Passive-Reflexive (III) Derivation. The derivational morpheme which indicates the passive-reflexive derivation is +t+, which in the verbal complex of the derived verb form occurs in position 9 of the 16 possible positions. Perhaps due to its phonological shape as a voiceless obstruent, it never assimilates or contracts with the aspects prefixes ki+/ka+ and ti+/ta+, which always occur as distinct prefixes (from their position 8) to the passive-reflexive morpheme. In the schema, it immediately precedes the third person subject morpheme +s+ (position 10) which is followed by the third person number morpheme +a+ (position 11). In third person forms, positions 9 and 10 contract, and the passive-reflexive morpheme +t+ occurs in place of the third person subject morpheme. For class 2 verb forms in the first and second person, the occurrence of the passive-reflexive morpheme results in the deletion of the root consonant n+ of the verb ngin (class 1 verb root position 14).

Because the derivation of passive-reflexive verb forms is clear and relatively straightforward for verb classes 1 and 2, the derivational paradigms for both verb classes are presented here, with a paradigm for one verb from each class in the non-prefixed imperfect aspect, and in the prefixed past.

cl 1:	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*14*	*15*	*16*	*passive-reflexive verb form*	
1S	-	t+	-	-	rù+	+k+	+ìn	túrúkìn	*I am seen; I see myself*
2S	-	t+	-	-	rù+	+m+	+ìn	túrúmìn	
3S	-	t+	s+	-	rù+	-	+ìn	túrìn	*it is seen/visible*
1P	-	t+	-	-	rù+	+y+	+ìn	túrùiyèn	*we see each other*
2P	-	t+	-	-	rù+	+w+	+ì	túrúwì	
3P	-	t+	s+	+a+	rù+	-	+ìn	tórìn	
1S	ka+	t+	-	-	rù+	+k+	+ò	kátúrúkò	*I was seen; I saw myself*
2S	ka+	t+	-	-	rù+	+m+	-	kátúrùm	
3S	ka+	t+	s+	-	rù+	-	+ò	kátúrò	*it was seen/visible*
1P	ka+	t+	-	-	rù+	+y+	+è	kátúrùiyè	*we saw each other*
2P	ka+	t+	-	-	rù+	+w+	-	kátúrùw	
3P	ka+	t+	s+	+a+	rù+	-	+ò	kátórò	

cl 2:	*6*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*15*	*16*	*passive-reflexive verb form*	
1S	bák+	-	t+	-	-	+k+	+ìn	báktəkìn	*I am beaten; I beat myself*
2S	bák+	-	t+	-	-	+m+	+ìn	báktəmìn	
3S	bák+	-	t+	s+	-	-	+ìn	báktìn	*it is beaten/beatable*
1P	bák+	-	t+	-	-	+y+	+ìn	báktìyèn	*we beat each other*
2P	bák+	-	t+	-	-	+w+	+ì	báktùwì	
3P	bák+	-	t+	s+	+a+	-	+ì	báktài	
1S	bák+	ka+	t+	-	-	+k+	+ò	bákkàtəkò	*I was beaten; I beat myself*
2S	bák+	ka+	t+	-	-	+m+	-	bákkàtəm	
3S	bák+	ka+	t+	s+	-	-	-	bákkàtə̀	*it was beaten/beatable*
1P	bák+	ka+	t+	-	-	+y+	+è	bákkàtìyè	*we beat each other*
2P	bák+	ka+	t+	-	-	+w+	-	bákkàtùw	
3P	bák+	ka+	t+	s+	+a+	-	-	bákkàtà	

On page 113, it was noted that for class 1 verbs in the basic (I) form, the prefixed past and future aspect may be homophonous for many verbs, but that the proof that different prefixed aspect morphemes were involved in their derivation became clear when one looked at the derived forms of the verbs. In the passive-reflexive derivation, these prefixed affix morphemes are clearly distinguished, for both verb classes. Compare the following future aspect paradigms for these verbs, to the above past paradigms, in the passive-reflexive derivation.

	cl 1	*cl 2*
1S	tátúrúkò *I shall be seen/see*	báktàtəkò *I shall be beaten/beat myself*
2S	tátúrùm *myself*	báktàtəm
3S	tátúrò *it shall be seen/visible*	báktàtə̀ *it shall be beaten/beatable*
1P	tátúrùiyè *we shall see each*	báktàtìyè *we shall beat each other*
2P	tátúrùw *other*	báktàtùw
3P	tátórò	báktàtà

Additional passive-reflexive paradigms in all verb aspects are presented in appendix 6 (p. 345).

5.2. Using the Passive-Reflexive (III) Derivation. Undoubtedly every transitive verb of Kanuri has at one time or another been used in the passive-reflexive derivation. Even if a transitive verb does not lend itself semantically to a passive-reflexive derived form in every person, it is always possible in the 3S form. For example, the class 1 verb dí+ does not lend itself to this derivation in first and second persons, where the 1S imperfect form would be the rather meaningless ?tə́də́kìn **I am done; *I do myself; *I am doable.* The 3S form is however very frequently produced and used, i.e. tə̀dín *it is done/practiced; it is doable/feasible.* This 3S passive-reflexive form is thus possible for any transitive verb, and can always be rendered in English with a translation having a predicate adjective in *-able/-ible*. This represents the most common and productive use of the passive-reflexive derivation, which in this and in all of its other uses, is always much more semantically predictable than for example the applied (II) derivation.

Transitive verbs that take human objects in their basic (I) form will potentially have complete passive-reflexive paradigms in all aspects with both a reflexive and a passive interpretation possible into languages like English. Thus the class 1 gámb+ may occur in all persons singular and plural to mean *scratch oneself* reflexively, or *be scratched* passively. The class 2 transitive verb kàsàl+ *bathe s.o.* becomes in the III form the intransitive *bathe (oneself)* or *be bathed*. The 3S forms of both of these verbs in the passive-reflexive would have in addition to the possible human passive and reflexive readings, also an *-able* reading as described above, interpretable in English with something like *it is scratchable/can be scratched* and *it is bathable/can be bathed*, respectively.

The plural forms of such transitive verbs that take human objects in their basic forms, may lend themselves to a reciprocal interpretation in the passive-reflexive derivation. There is nothing but the context and the semantics of the verb however which will determine whether the interpretation in English will best be reciprocal, passive, or reflexive. For example, from the class 1 verb rù+ *see* the 1P form túrúiyèn will nearly always be used to imply *we will see one another* reciprocally, and almost never be used to imply *we see ourselves* reflexively or *we're seen* passively. On the other hand, the passive-reflexive 1P kàsàltíyèn will normally be interpreted as the intransitive *we bathe (ourselves)* and rarely as *we bathe each other*.

In 5 above it was observed that the passive-reflexive derivation essentially removes a noun phrase position from the basic (I) nonderived form of a transitive verb. The two noun phrase positions (subject and object) of every basic transitive verb, are reduced to one (subject=semantic object) in the passive-reflexive derivation. Thus it is important to remember that when we do refer to some of these derived forms as *passives*, that they can only be *agentless passives* since there is only one noun phrase position, taken by the subject noun phrase syntactically, which is the semantic object of the action of the derived (now) intransitive verb. One cannot use the passive-reflexive derivation to produce sentences comparable to the English (passive with agent): *I was beaten by John.* The Kanuri equivalent of such passives with expressed agents is proposed and discussed on page 214.

Because the meaning of derived passive-reflexive verb forms is so consistently predictable, only a small set of examples is presented here.

I		*III*
shìwòl+	*trouble, bother*	Wàndé shìwòltə̀mí. *Don't trouble yourself.*
lèfà+	*greet*	Lèfàtíyénà.
wál+	*vi become*	Sái wáltə́kíà. *Until I return. (meaning of III not predictable from I)*
rù+	*see*	Sái túrúiyéià. *Until we see each other/meet.* Túrìnbá. *It is not visible.*
nò+	*know*	Nòtənyí. *It is not known.* Nòtíyèndé. *We don't know one another.*

I		*III*	
yàsá+	*repair*	Tàasâi.	*They will be repaired.*
hấp+	*lift up, raise up*	Háptìnbâ.	*It cannot be lifted up.*
		Hápkàtə̀.	*S/He got up and left. (idiom)*
fàl+	*change*	Fàltə́nà.	*S/He/It has changed.*
		Kámúnzə́ gàdèmínnàrò fàlgátə̀.	*His wife got pregnant again. (idiom)*
làd+	*sell*	Tə̀làdínbâ.	*It does not sell/is not marketable.*
lìw+	*protect*	Shírò tìlìwé.	*Protect yourself from him/her.*
kàsàl+	*bathe s.o.*	Kàsàltə̀né.	*Bathe (yourself).*
bù+	*eat*	Tə́wìnbâ.	*It is not eaten/edible.*
yá+	*drink*	Tâi.	*It is potable/drunk.*

5.3. Defective Class 2 Verbs in the Passive-Reflexive (III) Derivation. As described with regard to the applied (II) derivation (4.3 above), similarly there are class 2 verbs which normally occur only in the passive-reflexive forms. It is likely that this is again due to the fact that class 2 has development in so many different stages, in response to lacks and needs felt at different times in the history of the language.

ásə́mtə̀kìn, ásə́mtìn	*resolve, vow*
àwùlòtə́kìn, àwùlòtîn	*be boastful, be a braggard*
bàyètə́kìn, bàyètîn	*feel extreme jealousy, seek to remarry former spouse*
càlìptə́kìn, càlìptîn	*overdress*
fə́gə́látə̀kìn, fə́gə́látìn	*writhe in pain*
gàjáltə̀kìn, gàjáltìn	*be shaken up*
gámíntə̀kìn, gàmìntîn	*take charge of*
hàrtə́kìn, hàrtîn	*wash oneself without undressing by tying up clothes*
hárámtə̀kìn, hárámtìn	*cover oneself*
kàrə̀gə̀tə́kìn, kàrə̀gə̀tîn	*take personally*
kùrnòtə́kìn, kùrnòtîn	*be happy*
kùshèkùshètə́kìn, kùshèkùshètîn	*show off*
kwàstə́kìn, kwàstîn	*sit conceitedly*
làmbìtə́kìn, làmbìtîn	*need, be troubled over*
mə́rmə́rtə̀kìn, mə́rmə́rtìn	*fidget*
nàsàrtə́kìn, nàsàrtîn *A*	*be victorious, win*
nàktíyèn, nàktâi	*avert/avoid contact, not touch one another (pl only)*
ràzə̀gə̀tə́kìn, ràzə̀gə̀tîn	*A get rich*
rùrùtə́kìn, rùrùtîn	*doubt oneself*
shèktə́kìn, shèktîn	*doubt oneself*
tàntə́kìn, tàntîn	*stretch one's body*
tàskàtə́kìn, tàskàtîn	*prepare oneself*
tàwàktíyèn, tàwàktâi	*agree with one another (pl only)*
tòkùmtâi	*copulate (of insects; 3P only)*
yílétə̀kìn, yílétìn	*flirt*
yíllótə̀kìn, yíllótìn	*jump up and down in excitement*

6. The Causative (IV) Derivation of the Verb. The causative (IV) derivation of the verb in Kanuri carries perhaps the lightest functional load of all of the derived forms. Its status as a productive derived form might thus be referred to as tenuous, at best. The reason for this is that it is not even recognizable for verb class 1 as a productive derivational process, since Lukas has described only about five class 1 verbs which have the causative derivation. It is because of this lack of productivity that any reference to a causative morpheme for class 1 (1.IV) was excluded from the verbal complex schema of section 2 above. For verb class 2, the status of the causative derivation is tenuous for different reasons. Its formation is not relatable to that described for class 1 by Lukas. Rather, it is

only in this class that an affixed derivational morpheme may precede the class 2 verb root (in positions 1-4 in the 16 position schema). These prefixes to the class 2 root are accompanied by the occurrence of the applied (II) morpheme +kə+, in its normal applied derivation position as described above in section 4. The fact that it is formed from the derivational morpheme of another derived form, coupled with the aberrant prefixes, would suggest that it may represent a relatively recent development in the history of verb class 2. In support of this, we already know that the applied (II) form for many class 2 verbs has a causative interpretation, which may obviate the occurrence of derived form IV, or simply be synonymous with it. Furthermore, Kanuri has a variety of other ways of expressing causatives through the use of conjoined verb forms in the basic (I) form of the verb, without the use of any causative (IV) verb form. This will be described in 6.3 below.

6.1. Lukas' Class 1 Causative (IV) Verb Forms. Were it not for Lukas' work (1937) we would not even be describing the class 1 causative since the examples he has gathered are extremely difficult to discover, and might easily be mistaken for autonomous basic (I) form verbs. The position of the causative morpheme for these verbs (+t+) would be position 12 in our schema, mutually exclusive with the class 1/2 applied (II) derivational morpheme which is in the same position. The four class 1 verbs which have this derivation and can be explained in this way are shown below, fully conjugated in the imperfect aspect next to their respective basic (I) forms.

	I		*IV*	
1S	lúwùkìn	*I go out/leave*	tùlúwùkìn	*I bring/take out*
2S	lúwùmìn		tùlúwùmìn	
3S	sùlúyìn		sùtùlúyìn	
1P	lúwùyèn		tùlúwùyèn	
2P	lúwùwì		tùlúwùwì	
3P	sòlúyìn		sòtùlúyìn	
1S	ríndə̀kìn	*I tire from/get fed up with waiting*	tə̀ríndə̀kìn	*I make s.o. wait*
2S	ríndə̀mìn		tə̀ríndə̀mìn	
3S	sə̀ríndìn		sə̀tə̀ríndìn	
1P	ríndìyèn		tə̀ríndìyèn	
2P	ríndùwì		tə̀ríndùwì	
3P	sàríndìn		sàtə̀ríndìn	
1S	yákìn	*I drink*	yàttə́kìn	*I water (e.g. an animal)*
2S	yámìn		yàttə́mìn	
3S	sâi		sàttîn	
1P	yáiyèn		yàttíyèn	
2P	yáwì		yàttúwì	
3P	sásài		sàsàttîn	
1S	*yùrúkìn	*(II=fall, fall on)*	(dùrə́kìn)	
2S	*yùrúmìn		(dùrə́mìn)	
3S	*sùrîn		sùdùrîn	*vi fall (rain only);* njî -- *it is raining*
1P	*yùrúiyèn		(dùrúiyèn)	
2P	*yùrúwì		(dùrúwì)	
3P	*sòrîn		(sòdùrîn)	

The schematic position of this morpheme +t+ is clearly distinct from that of the passive-reflexive (III) morpheme +t+, since here the 3S/P subject morphemes clearly precede it, rather than collapsing with it as in the passive-reflexive derivation. Also, as a prefix in the first and second person forms it is on a low tone rather than the high tone of the passive-reflexive.

The derived forms yìkkə̀lằrə́kìn *I cause (s.o.) to live in luxury*, and yìkkə̀rằákìn *I cause (s.o.) to like/love*, are also introduced by Lukas (1937) as class 1 causative (IV) forms. However because they appear to be derived through application of the applied (II) morpheme for class 1, I have presented them in section 4 above, where the applied derivation is treated. This is justified since applied forms of both class 1 and class 2 often have such causative interpretations.

6.2. Deriving and Writing the Causative (IV) Derivation of Class 2 Verbs. As Lukas (1937:101) states, "form·IV (the causative form) of verbs in ngin is made up by prefixing yìtə̀+ to the applied form II." He suggests also that another causative prefix yìkkə̀+ is found, and that it can be explained as coming from yìtkə̀, as distinct from the applied prefix yìkkə̀+ which he explained elsewhere as an allomorph of yìrgə̀+. In support of this, a few aberrant class 2 verbs which appear to have causatives formed through the prefixation of yìkkə̀+ (i.e. like class 1 applied (II) forms) will be cited. His proposal however that yìkkə̀+ may have two different sources (one causative and one applied) cannot presently be verified.

As suggested in 6 above, the position of the class 2 causative prefix would suggest that it is a later development, perhaps an old verb form in the conjunctive form of the verb which through continuous use in an auxiliary function eventually became fused to the class 2 verb root as a prefix. One might suggest that it is an old causative form of the class 1 verb ngin, derived as per Lukas' class 1 causatives as presented in 6.1 above. Regardless of its origin, it is best simply treated as a prefix when analyzing the derived forms of spoken Kanuri today. This prefix is now written according to the SKO as yìtằ+.

In the following paradigms, compare the basic (I) form of the class 2 verb nŏ+ *know* with the applied (II) form, and the causative (IV) form, derived through the prefixation of yìtằ+ to the II form. In this case both the applied and the causative derivations share the causative meaning *inform*.

	I	*II*	*IV*
1S	nŏngîn *know*	nŏgə́kìn *inform*	yìtànŏgə́kìn *inform*
2S	nŏnə́mìn	nŏgə́mìn	yìtànŏgə́mìn
3S	nŏjîn	nŏzə́gìn	yìtànŏzə́gìn/sə̀tànŏyîn
1P	nŏnyên	nŏgə́iyèn	yìtànŏgə́iyèn
2P	nŏnúwì	nŏgə́wì	yìtànŏgə́wì
3P	nŏzâi	nŏzáài	yìtànŏzáài/sàtànŏyîn

It is the alternative third person forms in the IV derivation column which explain the rather complex looking morpheme positions 1-4 in the 16 position schema (section 2 above). In the first third person forms, the prefix is simply applied to the applied form as in all other persons. In the alternative third person forms, the third person subject and number morphemes (normally in positions 10 and 11) have been prefixed to the causative prefix yìtằ+, contracting with and replacing the y+ in the initial syllable of the prefix, thus moving to their alternative positions 2 and 3. These alternative forms lend support to the hypothesis that the prefix yìtằ+ was originally a class 1 verb form, since it is possible for the third person subject pronoun morphemes to be prefixed to it, as is always the case with class 1 verbs. When prefixed, these subject pronoun morphemes may clearly not occur in their normal positions 10 and 11. The reason therefore for position 1 (indicated by 2.III+IV) in the schema is that in these alternative third person forms, if the passive-reflexive morpheme +t+ is also applied to produce the combined III+IV derivation, then it follows the subject pronoun morphemes to the front of the verb form, leaving its normal position 9 for position 1. In positions 1, 2, and 3, these morphemes function exactly as they do in their normal positions 9, 10, and 11. This is shown below:

	4	*6*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*	*16*	*IV(+III) derived verb form*
3S	yìtà+	nò̀+	-	s+	-	+kə+	+ìn	yìtànò̀zə́gìn *inform (III)*
3P	yìtà+	nò̀+	-	s+	+a+	+kə+	+ì	yìtànò̀záài
3S	yìtà+	nò̀+	t+	s+	-	+kə+	+ìn	yìtànò̀tə́gìn *make oneself known (III+IV)*
3P	yìtà+	nò̀+	t+	s+	+a+	+kə+	+ì	yìtànò̀táài

	1/9	*2/10*	*3/11*	*4*	*6*	*12*	*16*	*alternative IV(+III) derived verb form*
3S	-	s+	-	yìtà+	nò̀+	+kə+	+ìn	sə̀tànò̀yîn *inform (III)*
3P	-	s+	+a+	yìtà+	nò̀+	+kə+	+ìn	sàtànò̀yîn
3S	t+	s+	-	yìtà+	nò̀+	+kə+	+ìn	tə̀tànò̀yîn *make oneself known (III+IV)*
3P	t+	s+	+a+	yìtà+	nò̀+	+kə+	+ìn	tàtànò̀yîn

With the exception of these alternative third person forms therefore, the derivation and writing of the causative (IV) derivation of class 2 verbs can be done simply by prefixing the position 4 causative morpheme yìtà+ to the applied (II) derivation of any class 2 verb. For the derivation and writing of the applied (II) derivation, the reader is referred to section 4.1 above. Complete paradigms in all aspects of the verb are presented together with the applied (II) paradigms in appendix 5 (p. 343).

6.3. Using the Causative (IV) Derivation of Class 2 Verbs. Three of the class 1 causative verbs cited in 6.1 above are very frequently used in spoken Kanuri, i.e. tùlúwùkìn *bring/take/get out*, yàttə́kìn *water*, and sùdùrîn *fall (of rain)*, as in the following examples.

Kúngə́nà tùlúwùmbá wá?	*Won't you get some money out/spend some money?*
Kâmdə́ sòtùlúwùnà.	*They got rid of/removed/took out the man.*
Nádə̀n fə̀rwánzá sàsàttîn.	*They water their horses there.*
Njî sùdùrîn.	*It is raining.*

For the first and second of these verbs, the basic intransitive form is rendered transitive causative in the IV form, though for the second verb the morphophonemics is not as straightforward. In the third case, the verb is used only in the 3S form, and is apparently intransitive in meaning. The only subject that can occur with it is *water/rain* as in the above example, and this constituent can never be marked for function by one of the postpositions. Because this process is so limited, it is unlikely that most speakers would recognize it as such. It is likely that the second and third verbs have been reanalyzed as autonomous basic form verbs, rather than derived from the sources proposed by Lukas that have been presented here.

Thus in discussing the causative (IV) derivation in Kanuri, we are really only dealing with verb class 2. There also, though the causative is extremely productive morphologically, it is not used nearly as frequently as the other derived verb forms. Causative meanings involving both transitive and intransitive verbs are more frequently and productively expressed using the 3S form of the verb yìkkə́kìn, sə̀kkîn *(=II of gàákìn, gàyîn enter) insert, penetrate*, in the conjunctive, i.e. sə̀kkə̂. The reason/cause of something is therefore the subject of this verb, and the 3S conjunctive form is followed by the verb in any person expressing the result, as in the following examples. The 3P form is sàkkə̂.

Ádə̀yè sə̀kkə̂ cə̀rmáwònò̀.	*That made him mad.*
Yâsə́yè chíà sə̀kkə̂ də̀wò̀ntîn kə̀rà̀jînrò̀ wálwònò̀.	*His/Her mother made him/her go to school.*
Dàlìlwá ányìyè sàkkə̂ gàdə́rò túrûiyènbâ.	*These are the reasons that we don't see one another anymore.*

The following are examples of the causative (IV) derivation of class 2 verbs. The last two examples are from Lukas (1937:105).

Fə́ládə́ kánnúlàn yìtàfágə̀kìn.	*I will melt the butter on the fire.*
Âlà sàndírò kə̀ndə́gà hêrbè yìtàfírzə́gə́.	*May God reserve a peaceful life for them.*
Jílì lòrúsà ádə̀bèdə́ zâurò jàmâ ngə́wùà yìtàâjàpsə́gə̀nà.	*A marriage like this one truly amazed a great many people.*
Àndírò búrwùndé nâ mâibèrò yìtàgə́mgə̀né.	*Please transmit (make reach) our complaint to the king.*
Âdə̀ gə̀nyâ tə́mmân ráksə̀ âbímáyè shíà sə̀tàngàzə́gìnbâ.	*Except/if not for this, nothing can ever make him/her well again.*
Kə̀nâ kâmmà yìtàngàmzə́gìn.	*Hunger will make a person thin.*
Wàndé àshírnə́m sámmá shírò yìtànògə̀mí.	*Don't make all of your secrets known to him/her.*

It is apparent from the above examples that the causative (IV) derivation is most frequently formed from verbs that are intransitive in their basic (I) form. Such causatives are very often synonymous with the comparable applied (II) forms, since as was observed above, applied (II) verb forms derived from verbs which are intransitive in their basic form often have a causative (transitive) interpretation in the applied form. It is often the case that the shorter and less cumbersome applied form is preferred in such cases to express causative meanings.

The class 2 verb whose root is kà+ *escape, avoid*, has evolved its own slightly idiosyncratic form of the causative (IV) derivation. The class 2 causative prefix has been contracted to yìt+, and the only third person forms are the alternative forms in which the subject pronoun morpheme is prefixed to the causative prefix, as shown in the following imperfect aspect paradigm. The prefix may assimilate to the root initial consonant.

1S	yìtkàgə́kìn/yìkkàgə́kìn	*1P*	yìtkàgə́iyèn/yìkkàgə́iyèn
2S	yìtkàgə́mìn/yìkkàgə́mìn	*2P*	yìtkàgə́wì/yìkkàgə́wì
3S	sə̀tkàyîn/sə̀kkàyîn	*3P*	sàtkàyîn/sàkkàyîn

Because of the idiosyncracies, the paradigm looks more like that of a class 1 verb, than like that of a class 2 verb. The meaning is *protect, save from.*

7. The Reduplicated/Intensive (V) Derivation of the Verb. Unlike the other derived forms of the verb, the reduplicated derivation does not involve the application of any supplementary derivative morpheme/s. Instead it is formed from within the basic (I) form through the reduplication or doubling of the initial syllable of the basic finite verb form. Lukas (1937:105) has termed this the intensive form, since its use normally implies repetition or intensity in carrying out the action of the verb. Normally this process involves reduplication of the verb root, and thus, as indicated in the 16 position schema, is carried out for class 1 verbs in position 13, and for class 2 verbs in position 5, both immediately preceding their respective roots. As Lukas states, "the root may be wholly or partially reduplicated. Monosyllabic roots ending in a vowel are wholly reduplicated; those ending in a consonant often lose this consonant when reduplicated. Thus wùwûngìn from wûngìn *I look at*, kàkâmngìn from kâmngìn *I cut*. ... The reduplicated verb root is always on a low tone, no matter if the verb root is a high tone or a low tone one."

In the third person forms of class 1 verbs for the non-prefixed aspects, the subject pronoun morphemes are in initial position. In such cases the prefixed subject as well as the initial syllable of the root may be reduplicated, as in e.g. sə̀nə̀sə̀nándìn from sə̀nándìn *s/he bites*. In such cases, morphemes from positions 10, 11, and 14 of our schema, would be essentially repeated as a prefix to themselves. This has not been shown in the schema since such examples are not very commonly produced. Derivational paradigms for this derived form are not presented here since it can be so easily produced from the basic (I) form of any verb. For paradigms of verbs in all aspects of the basic (I) form, see appendix 3 (p. 337).

7.1. Using the Reduplicated/Intensive (V) Derivation. The meaning of derived form V is generally directly predictable from the basic (I) nonderived form of the verb. Form V usually implies that the action of the verb was repeatedly, often, or continuously carried out. For transitive verbs, form V may imply that the action was carried out on many objects. In some cases form V may simply imply the rapid or intensive carrying out of the verb's action. In many instances, the best way to render these forms in English is by phrases like *keep on doing X*, or *do and do X*, as is apparent in the examples presented here.

It will be noticed that the majority of the examples presented here are of class 2 verbs in derived form V. This is true in spoken Kanuri as well. This may be due not only to the strength in numbers of verb class 2, but may also be relatable to the origins of verb class 2 in specific adverbs adapted for this use, as proposed on page 102. As noted there, specific adverbs lend themselves to repetition or reduplication in use, as do class 2 verb roots.

I	*V*
bák+ *beat, hit*	bàbák+ *keep on beating/hitting, hit/beat continuously*
dà+ *stop, stand*	dàdà+ *hesitate, stand around, loiter*
fànd+ *find, get*	fàfànd+ *keep on finding, find many*
fàr+ *jump, fly, dance*	fàfàr+ *keep on jumping, etc.; jump etc. intensively*
gə̀rgá+ *become angry*	gə̀rgə̀rgá+ *keep on becoming angry*
jàràp+ *A try*	jàràjàràp+ *keep on trying*
kàs+ *run*	kàkàs+ *keep on running, run hard*
kám+ *cut*	kàkám+ *keep on cutting, cut many*
kə́r+ *tie/wrap up*	kə̀kə́r+ *tie/wrap up repeatedly*
fí+ *pour out*	fìfí+ *keep on pouring/spilling out*
kòk+ *peck*	kòkòk+ *keep on pecking*
kók+ *plant, stick in*	kòkók+ *plant in several places, keep planting*
láwú+ *pick, pluck*	làláwú+ *touch/fondle carefully*
má+ *look for, fetch*	màmá+ *keep on looking for; look and look for*
	Mámárò máwòkòsó ... *Though I looked and looked for it*
mànà+ *talk*	mànàmànà+/màmànà+ *keep on talking; all talk; talk & talk*
mbə́l+ *struggle, wrestle*	mbə̀bə́l+ *keep on wrestling/struggling*
nyìmé+ *chat, converse*	nyìmènyìmé+ *keep on chatting, chat and chat*
shík+ *scrape, grate*	shìshík+ *keep on scraping/grating*
làn+ *A insult*	làlàn+ *insult repeatedly*
wóp+ *throw over*	wòwóp+ *luck or chance into sth*
túl+ *wash*	tùtúl+ *keep on washing, wash alot of things*
	Múskònzá tùtúlzài. *They all are washing their hands.*
zâk+ *close*	zàzâk+ *keep on closing, close all of them*
tàk+ *recall, ponder*	tàtàk+ *keep on thinking about/remembering, etc.*
	Àwó ádə̀ ngə́wùrò tàtânggînsó kə̀lânyírò ísə̀nyí. *Though I keep on pondering this thing, it won't come to me.*

7.2. Nonderived Reduplicated Class 2 Verbs. The class 2 verb roots presented here have clearly been formed, or have evolved through some form of reduplication. That they are reduplicated may reflect a meaning that involves some kind of repeated or intensive action, and thus the reduplication may be onomatopoetically based. However, unlike the form V derivations presented above, these class 2 verbs are today basic (I) forms, since there exists no other more basic, unreduplicated form I. Many of the verbs presented here appear to be onomatopoetic not only because of the reduplication, but also because of their phonological shape. Such verbs would therefore qualify for the proposed group 2 of class 2 verbs roots (see page 107) i.e. those which have specific adverb or onomatopoetic sources. Some of the members of the sample of that group presented there were also in some way reduplicated. Some of the examples presented here appear to be in derived form V but do not have the characteristic low tone first syllable of form V.

gə̀rgə̀r+	*vi 3S thunder*	fə̀fə̀t+	*flap wings; convulse*
gə̀làgə̀là+	*shout non-stop praises*	fáfár+	*unravel, unroll*
bòlòló+	*bleat (of he-goat)*	fə́fə́s+	*crumble, break up*
làilài+	*flatter*	fə̀tfə̀t+	*fan (with straw mat)*
tèrètèrè+	*hover in uncertainty*	fáfát+	*grope, feel around for*
gùzùgùzù+	*knock down from above*	fúrúfúrú+	*touch and drag (of tail)*
làláp+	*daub, pat*	fírífírí+	*drill, bore*
shìshì+	*inquire about, research*	níní+	*study with the eyes*
ngùrùmngùrùm+	*kneel, crawl*	mímí+	*whinny, neigh*
lílím+	*itch*	tátáp+	*whisper secret gossip*
tótól+	*blister (of skin)*	sàsà+	*calm down/lullaby a child*
lálá+	*winnow in wind*	fífí+	*fertilize with manure*
sásáp+	*III shrivel/dry up*		

8. Combined Derived Verb Forms. In the examples presented here, more than one of the derived forms of the verb combine within a given finite verb form to produce compound or combined derived forms. Virtually any combination of the derived forms II, III, IV, and V is possible. Likewise, all of the derived forms may combine with the application of the object pronoun affixes, with the exception of the passive-reflexive form III, which is intransitive with only a subject pronoun position as described above. A number of examples are taken from Lukas (1937:107-112).

8.1. Derived Verb Forms with the Object Affixes.

Nzə̀kkə̀líkìn/Nzə̀kkə̀lígə̀kìn. *(II+OBJ)*	*I will teach you.*
Nzə̀kkə̀làdə́kìn. *(II+OBJ)*	*I will sell to you.*
Nyírò njàrdə́gà. *(II+OBJ)*	*It is left up to you.*
Mànànzə́gə̀kìn.	*I will speak/am speaking to you.*
Zùwàsə́gə̀mbâ wá?	*Won't you send it to me?*

In the causative (IV) derivation for class 2 verbs, the object affixes normally occur in their expected position 9, though some speakers may optionally front them to position 1 as prefixes to the causative prefix.

Yìtàngànzə́gə̀kìn./Nzə̀tàngàgə́kìn. *(IV+OBJ)*	*I will make you well.*
Nzùtùlúwùkìn. *(IV+OBJ)*	*I will remove/exclude you*
Lèfàlèfànzâi. *(V+OBJ)*	*They keep on greeting you.*
Mànàmànànzə́gìn. *(II+V+OBJ)*	*S/He keeps on talking to you.*

8.2. Applied (II) Derivation plus Passive-Reflexive (III) Derivation.

Cídìrò fítə̀gìn.	*It is pouring onto the ground.*
Nyírò tə̀màtə́gə̀nyí.	*It was not expected of you.*
Gə́rétə̀gə̀míà, yùkkùrúmìn.	*If you get to close to it you will fall.*
Tə̀wàktə́gə̀iyèn.	*We will agree with one another.*
Kàmbìgə̀tə́gìyèn.	*We argue with one another.*
Sòwòrtə́gùwâ wá?	*Won't you consult one another?*
Gə̀rótə́gə̀iyènà.	*We crossed pathes/missed each other on the road.*

Káàtà kòllə́míà, cígə̀ sáptə̀gìn.	*If you leave it open flies will gather on it.*
Nòtə́gə̀mmà wá?	*Did you make yourself known/introduce yourself?*
Kádírò fàltə́gə̀nà.	*S/He changed him/herself into a snake.*

8.3. Applied (II) Derivation plus Reduplicated (V) Derivation.

Shírò zùwàzùwàgə́kìn.	*I will keep sending (it) to him/her.*
Kə̀ládə́rò njí ngə́wù fìfígə̀né.	*Keep pouring a lot of water on top of it.*

8.4. Passive-Reflexive (III) Derivation plus Causative (IV) Derivation.

Tə̀tkàgə́kìn.	*I will save/protect myself.*
Tə̀tə̀lúwùkìnbá.	*I will not be able to get myself out.*
Fə̄rnzə́ tàttə́nà.	*His/Her horse has been watered.*
Tə̀tànápsə̀gə̀nà.	*S/He was helped to sit down.*

8.5. Passive-Reflexive (III) Derivation plus Reduplicated (V) Derivation.

Ngə́wùrò kàkámtìn.	*It keeps breaking off/being cut off.*
Tə̀gə̀tə̀gə̀ndə́mìndə́, àbírò?	*You keep on moving, why?*
Ròrótìnbá.	*S/he cannot restrain him/herself.*

8.6. II+III+V.

Mààrádə́ njí ròrótə̀gìn.	*The boat keeps on taking on/holding water (i.e. leaking).*

CHAPTER 15: THE NONFINITE FORMS OF THE VERB

1. Introduction. Up to this point, the discussion of the Kanuri verb has been concentrated on the finite form of the verb, which is the form fully inflected for subject pronoun (person and number) and also for tense, aspect or mood. A nonfinite verb form is neutral in that it is not inflected for subject or aspect, but contains the verb root and may normally be used to describe the act or action described by the verb. In English, what is referred to as an *infinitive* can be formed for any verb in the language simply by applying the preposition *to* to the basic uninflected form of the verb, as in *to eat*, *to drink*, etc. Grammarians of English distinguish other nonfinite forms of the verb such as the *deverbal noun (e.g.: quarrel, arrival, suggestion, painting)* which always has a corresponding *verbal noun* or *gerund* in *-ing*, the latter being a nominal describing the process of the action of the verb.

The most common nonfinite form of the Kanuri verb is the verbal noun, a form shared by all of the verbs of the language regardless of verb class. According to the analysis presented here, certain Kanuri verbs also have derived deverbal nouns. Though there is no form comparable to the English infinitive, the verbal noun together with a postposition is often translatable into English by the infinitive form. The only other nonfinite form of the Kanuri verb is a past participle form, which may be produced for the verbs of class 2 only. This form is most commonly used attributively as a modifier, though it may as well be used as a predicate adjective.

Though all verbs of Kanuri share the common nonfinite verbal noun, it is formed in different ways for different verbs, depending on the verb class of the root, and on the tone pattern of the root. It will be the purpose of this chapter to not only introduce the various forms of the verbal and deverbal nouns, but also to try to show their semantic and syntactic differences. Previous treatments of this subject have analyzed for example the two or three different nonfinite verb forms for a given verb as being synonymous and all verbal nouns. Ways of distinguishing these forms will be presented here.

2. The Nonfinite Forms of Class 1 Verbs. A given class 1 verb may have as many as three different nonfinite verb forms. All class 1 verbs share what is here analyzed as the verbal noun for that class, which is formed for verbs with monosyllabic CV roots for which V≠i simply from the verb root on a low tone, as in tà from tá+, bù from bù+, etc. For CV roots in which V=i, for CVC root, and for polysyllabic roots, the suffix +ə̀ is applied to the root and the tone is low throughout, as in làdə̀ from làd+, gàmbə̀ from gámb+, dìə̀ from dí+, etc. For the few polysyllabic roots ending in a vowel of group 4 (see page 100), the +ə̀ is not suffixed to form the verbal noun, and the final vowel is the final syllable of the verbal noun, as in yàngàngà from yàngàngà+, etc. This nonfinite verb form, the basic class 1 verbal noun, is the most productive nonfinite form for verb class 1, and as mentioned, is the only one shared by all verbs in the class. These verbal nouns are the first nonfinite forms presented in the column marked *de/verbal nouns*, in the groups of class 1 verbs presented on page 97, and in appendix 1 (p. 327).

According to the present analysis, all other nonfinite forms derived from class 1 verb roots are derived nominals or deverbal nouns in derivation, though in use some may seem to be synonymous with the verbal nouns described above. The two most common deverbal nouns formed from class 1 roots are apparently derived through the application of the historical formative morphemes (described in ch. 10) to the verb root. About 20% of class 1 verbs have a deverbal noun formed through the process of k-prefixation that has been attested. Most of these have the L-H-L tone pattern which is associated with this process (as described on pp. 75 ff . (Other k-prefixed nominals formed from class 1 verb roots with irregular tone patterns and involving other formatives as well are presented on page 77. The other commonly produced, regular deverbal noun formed from class 1 verb roots is that formed apparently through the prefixation of nz+, which as a formative prefix may be composed of the historical formative n+, together with the formative s+, though this cannot be verified. About half of the class 1 verbs share this derived deverbal noun, though the production of this form is quite irregular and may vary from speaker to speaker. It is apparent that this form is extremely rare in group 1 of the class 1 verbs (see page 97), more common in group 2, and essentially universal in groups 3 and 4, the latter two being made up of class 1 roots in initial y+. The two verbs making up the proposed group 3 each have all three possible nonfinite verb forms, as shown below. Each has the verbal noun and the two deverbal nouns.

yá+	yà, kə̀nzâ, nzà	yákìn, sâi, sásâi	*drink*
yí+	yò, kə̀njó, njò	yíkìn, cîn, sádìn	*give*

2.1. Distinguishing and Using the Nonfinite Forms of Class 1 Verbs.

Lukas (1937:76) suggests that all class 1 verbs originally had two "verbal nouns", one without a prefix and another with the prefix k+ (kən+, kər+). According to Lukas, evidence from other dialects indicates that "the difference in usage between these two Verbal Nouns is that the Verbal Noun with k-prefix is used with a direct object, the simple Verbal Noun without an object. ... In the Yerwa dialect this difference is no longer made. Only a few verbs have two forms of Verbal Nouns still, without a difference in usage." Thus Lukas distinguishes between a *simple verbal noun* without prefix, and a *verbal noun with prefix*.

Koelle (1854:21) proposed an even greater difference between the two forms in his treatment of substantives derived from class 1 verbs. He stated that k-prefixed substantives are to be treated as "nouns of action, or abstract substantives, because they are derived from the common infinitive in the same or a similar way, as the above abstract nouns from concrete nouns or adjectives". Thus Koelle referred to our basic verbal noun (Lukas' simple verbal noun) as an *infinitive*, and to our deverbal noun (Lukas' verbal noun with prefix) as an *abstract substantive*. It will be the purpose of this subsection to show that there does still exist in Yerwa Kanuri a difference in usage between these various nonfinite forms of class 1 verbs, and that the terms and categories proposed by Koelle may more adequately capture the actual situation than those of Lukas.

As described on page 77 , the deverbal noun for the verb whose root is bù+, normally takes on the deverbal meaning *food*, but may also in certain environments be interpretable in English with a gerundive verbal noun meaning like *eating*. The basic (non-prefixed) verbal noun bù for this verb, never takes on the deverbal meaning and can only be translated as meaning *eating*, or in some constructions as *to eat*. This is to be expected given our knowledge of the process of k-prefixation as a derived nominal formation process (see page 75). Other such commonly used deverbal nouns formed in this way are: kə̀mbâ *horseback ride, horseback riding festival*; kə̀ndó *deed, act*; kə̀ngâ *pursuit, following*; kùrû *seeing*; kə̀ngántì *possession, acquisition*; kàsô *flight, escape, running*; kə̀ráwó *love*; kə̀njô *gift*; kə̀ndə́gà *life*; kə̀rmû *death*; and kàtàdô *meeting (one another)*. It is never the case that a basic (nonprefixed) verbal noun has such a deverbal meaning.

In the first example below, the possessive suffix on the nonfinite form of the verb may be interpreted either as the subject of the verbal action or the owner of the food. In the second example, the possessive suffix may be interpreted either as the subject or the object of the verbal action.

Kə̀mbûnzə́ ràákə̀nyí.	*I don't like his/her food.* *I don't like how s/he eats.*
Bùnzə́ ràákə̀nyí.	*I don't like his/her having eaten the food.*
Kə̀mbû/(*bù) ádə̀ shírò yádé.	*I don't like to eat it.*
Kə̀mbû/*bù ádə̀ shírò yádé.	*Take this food to him/her.*

In the environment of the preposition sái which is here used to introduce something that is needed or required, the semantic difference between the verbal and the deverbal nouns is quite clear.

Sái bù.	*It is necessary/time to eat (it)./ There remains only to eat (it).*
Sái kə̀mbû.	*Food is needed/necessary (e.g. for s.o. who is sick).*

For the verb də̀gá+ *live, stay, exist*, it is only the k-prefixed deverbal noun which may occur in the following question used frequently as part of the greetings exchange. The verbal noun is untranslatable in this context.

Ndá kə̀ndə́gà?/*də̀gà?	*How is life?*

3. The Nonfinite Forms of Class 2 Verbs. With regard to the feature of tone, the verb roots of verb class 2 may be divided into two groups: 1) high tone roots, having high tone on the root-final vowel, and 2) low tone roots. Group one is thus made up of L_oH and H roots, and group two of L roots. There are no H_oL roots. Class 2 verbs of both tone groups share the common feature of having a nonfinite verbal noun formed through the suffixation of the high tone +tə́ to the verb root on its own inherent tone, as in lètə́ *going* from lè+, létə́ *touching* from lé+. This process is totally productive for the entire verb class. It has been suggested that the suffix +tə́ originates from the determiner (definite article) +də́ (Tucker and Bryan, 1956:175; Cyffer, 1974:58-9), though it would seem more likely that +tə́, like all other inflections of class 2 verb roots, is probably an obsolete nonfinite form of the verb ngin which no longer occurs independently. It is likely that its formation involved the formative morpheme of the passive-reflexive derivation of the verb, i.e. +t+. If this alternative etymology could be documented, then one might be able to show that the determiner (definite article) +də́ was derived from it, rather than the vice-versa which has been proposed.

Class 2 verbs do not have the variety of derived deverbal nominals that was described with regard to class 1. Instead, the complication that arises is in relation to tone group one, the high tone roots, since this set of class 2 verbs has two nonfinite verbal noun forms for each verb, for an as yet unexplained reason. They have the verbal noun which is common to all class 2 verbs (as described above) where the high tone suffix +tə́ is applied to the root on its root tone. The second verbal noun is formed through a tone changing suffix +tà, which when applied changes all the tones of the root to low, as in lètà, létə́ *touching* from lé+. Its low tone counterpart lè+ *go* has only the one verbal noun in +tə́, i.e. lètə́ *going*. The vowels ə:a may be singular and plural, respectively.

Lukas (1937:76) claims that in the Yerwa dialect, the two forms of the verbal noun for high tone class 2 verbs are "no longer distinguished in usage, ... But there is no doubt that such a difference existed at one time, and even exists today in other dialects, and it may be concluded from them that the Verbal Noun in +tà had a general meaning, whereas the meaning of the form in +tə́ is confined to a specialized happening: wútə́ *the looking at (a special thing)*, wùtà *the looking at (in general)*."

In 3.1 below, we will test the value of Lukas' claim in discussing the uses of the class 2 verbal noun, and especially the difference between the two forms for high tone roots. In 3.2 below, the other class 2 nonfinite verb form, the past participle, will be examined with regard to formation and use.

3.1. Distinguishing and Using Class 2 Verbal Nouns. The discussion and the examples presented here will concentrate on high tone class 2 verbs in an effort to establish a difference between the two forms of the verbal noun for that group. The evidence does demonstrate that certain semantic and syntactic distinctions are still made in spoken Yerwa Kanuri today through the alternation of these two forms of the verbal noun. In some specifiable environments, one of the forms is totally unacceptable. The evidence provides some support for Lukas' suggestion that the high tone form is more specific, and the low tone form more general. Since the low tone form is produced through a tone changing process lowering the basic high tone of the root, this evidence correlates with other tone changing morphological processes that have been observed, where the tone altered form bears some kind of abstract semantic relationship to the basic unaltered form.

At several points in this work (see page 26, page 63, and page 106) it has been suggested with regard to class 2 roots that at some point in the history of the verb class low tone may have been associated with intransitivity, and high tone with transitivity. Thus the development of two verbal nouns for the high tone (transitive) roots may at some point have been in response to the more complex syntax of the transitive verb as opposed to the less complex of the intransitive verb. Further research may show that the selection of the form of the verbal noun may be relatable in some way to the syntax of the verb phrase.

In an unpublished Kanuri dictionary which did not include tone markings, the Kanuri author Mustafa Lantewa (1976?) used only verbal nouns for citing Kanuri verbs, rather than presenting finite verb forms. It is interesting to note that for most of the high tone class 2 verbs that he cited, he presented the (low tone) verbal noun with the +tà suffix for his citation form, and normally excluded the high tone form with the +tə́ suffix for such verbs. This evidence may be used to support Lukas' suggestion that the low tone form in +tà is the more general one since Lantewa quite consistently chose that form for the general citation of the verb. These he often translated as English infinitives. When both verbal nouns were presented, he usually translated the high tone form in +tə́ as a nominal, usually beginning with the words *the act of*. Because the difference between the two forms has yet to be adequately documented, even evidence of this kind must be used in an attempt to clarify the differences.

The verb gó+ *take, take away* is today being used to describe the mathematical process of *taking away, subtracting*. In referring to the process of subtraction in general, the more general low tone form of the verbal noun gòtà *subtraction*, is always preferred over the more specific high tone form of the verbal noun gótə́. Further evidence from this same verb occurs when the verbal noun is used in the environment of the agentive nominal suffix +ma. A *professional porter, loader, load carrier*, a common marketplace occupation, is a gòtàmà with the general form, and never a gótə́mà. When a gòtàmà is looking for work, he may cry out Ndâ (àwó) gòtàbè? *Where is something to be carried?*, using the low tone form. He will never cry out with the high tone form *Ndâ (àwó) gótə́bè. In this environment, the high tone verbal noun has a different connotation. The sentence Shí gòtàmànyí. means *he is my porter (i.e. the professional porter that regularly carries my loads)*. The sentence Shí gótə́mànyí. means *He is the person (nonprofessional) carrying my loads* or it might also mean *He is the person carrying me*. Thus the high tone form, as Lukas suggested, refers to a specific event, rather than the general, habitual action of the professional. Because the verb gó+ is also used in the marriage context to mean *take a young girl in marriage*, the high tone verbal noun may be used to refer to *taking a young girl in marriage*, as in the following examples where its tone has been changed morphologically: Shí gòtə̀mányí. *he is the one who will marry me/married me as a young girl*. (férò) gòtə̀bə̀lìnmí *recently married girl*. Férò gótə́nzə́ sə̀tə́nà. *The time of his wedding has arrived (in reference to a specific wedding for which the date has been previously set)*. If in the last example the more general gòtà is used (Férò gòtànzə́ sə̀tə́nà), then the meaning is not specific in relation to a previously arranged marriage, but would instead mean something like *He is old enough to take a bride./It is about time he got married*. This elaborate documentation of only one verb does provide evidence in support of Lukas' suggestion. This evidence also indicates that with the low tone +tà form in the environment of a possessive suffix, the possessive suffix is not interpretable as the object of the action, whereas this is possible with the high tone +tə́ form.

Other evidence of this type both contradicts and supplements the observations made thus far. It has to do with the possible interpretation of the possessive suffixes occurring on these class 2 verbal nouns. In the following examples the verb kâ+ *open, uncover, reveal* with its two verbal nouns kátə́/kàtà occurs. In the environment of these sentences, one is dealing with the description of a specific event which has occurred, and thus the specific/general distinction observed above is not relevant. It is apparent that here the low tone form of the verbal noun is used when the object precedes the verbal noun, and the possessive suffix is to be interpreted as the subject of the action of the verbal noun. The high tone form is used when the subject/agent of the action of the verbal noun is not expressed, and this transitive verb is apparently used intransitively with the preceding noun phrase functioning as the syntactic subject of the verbal noun (semantic object). The possessive suffix is a coreferrent noun phrase with that syntactic subject.

Sâ shóró kàtànzə́ kâllàdə̂n, ...	*Right at the time of his/her opening the room,*
Sâ shóró kàtànzâ kâllàdə̂n, ...	*Right at the time of their opening the room,*
Sâ shóró kátə́nzə́ kâllàdə̂n, ...	*Right at the time of the room's opening,*
Sâ kátə́ shóróbè kâllàdə̂n, ...	*Right at the time of the opening of the room,*
?Sâ kàtà shóróbè kâllàdə̂n, ...	

If this evidence is generalizable, then it would suggest that the high tone unaltered verbal noun formed with +tə́ in such environments is related to intransitivity and requires that only one syntactic noun phrase position (that of subject) be filled in its use, as is the case with all low tone class 2 verbs which are intransitive, having only the +tə́ verbal noun. The low tone verbal noun in +tà on the other hand, in such non-general environments allows for the filling of both the subject and object noun phrase positions for a transitive verb.

The following derived nominals, phrases, and sentences are presented to demonstrate how class 2 verbal nouns are used in spoken Kanuri. Some of the examples provide additional support for Lukas' specific/general hypothesis. In each case the preferred, natural form is presented.

Yâsò âbbàsò bànàtà wájìb.	*Helping mother and father is obligatory.*
Nàndírò njî shîndó tùltàbè sòwúdə́.	*Let them bring you water for washing your feet.*
Kúngə́nà màtàrò lěngîn.	*I am going looking for money.*
Gàdé màtà ngálwó.	*It is better to look for another one.*
Àwó nânə́mmìn bâ màtàlàn, sâbísòrò nâ sáwànə́mbèn máné.	*When looking for something you don't have, always look at your friend's place.*
Kàlìmàwâ nàsàrâ Yìngə́lìsbèn gòtà sâbísòrò cìntə̀nyên.	*We always avoid (stay far from) taking words from English.*
Dàjí dágə̀llà kàdùtà bàdìwónò.	*Then he started pursuing the monkey.*
Lěngê kánnú dâ wàrtàbè fǔngîn.	*I will go and start a fire for roasting meat.*
Kánòrò lèwónò kàntî fə̀rə̀mtàrò.	*S/He went to Kano to open a shop.*
Rábìdə́ shí kâm lárdə̀ gə̀díbè, kùrú ngə́wùrò lárdə̀ Bórnòbèrò ísə́nà, kə̀lâ sáfùr-à kə́njì màtà-àbèn.	*This Rabi, he was a man from the eastern country, and he came very often to Borno country on commerce and slave gathering.*
Fútù bə́rì ádə̀ dètàbè nònə́mmà wá?	*Do you know how to cook this food?*
Nyírò kàzə́mùnə́m túllé ngə̀nàdə́; tùltàrò njèskâm.	*I told you to wash your clothes; you forgot to wash them.*
Nə̀msáwàndé dînmá ádə̀ kâm ráksə̀ kàmtàmá bá, sái Âlà.	*There is no person that can cut off our longlasting friendship, only God.*
Nyí də́ptə́ wá mánə̀mìn?	*Is it separation/divorce that you want?*
Àbí kû férò ngə́wùrò gòtàbè áttə̀ wààzó?	*What happened that there are so many marriages today?*
Shí zâurò fòmtà ngə́wùà.	*S/He really wanders around a lot.*
Kùrú fə́skà fìtà yé zâurò nòzə́nà.	*What is more, he really knows how to sew on embroidery too.*
Lètə́ndé zâurò támtàmmà.	*Our trip was/is very enjoyable.*

Kòskòlídə́ mbû gənyí dúwì básyè yétə́də́.	*For the koskoli song, the singing is not necessarily done only by the duwu.*
Kǎiyà yètà bàdìwónò.	*S/He started singing.*
Búné gàngá zàtà bàdìzâi.	*At night they start beating drums.*
Bàktà rózànà.	*They have ceased printing (it).*
Shí kìtáwù lə̀tàmà.	*She is a book publisher/editor/writer.*
Shí kìtáwù àdə́bè lə́ptə́mànzə́.	*He is the writer/editor of this book.*
Fê gərúwí yàyé kàngádì yàktə́làn gádùwì.	*Even if you've eaten a whole cow, you will argue over the sharing of the horns.*
náptə́nə́m dìnâbè	*your situation in the world/lifestyle*
mánà gòtàrám	*tape recorder*
fótò gòtàrám	*camera*
àwó bàktàbè	*thing of beating (describes a hammer)*
àwó mánà gòtàbè	*a thing for recording/taking speech*
shîn lètə́sò kəlân àwó gòtàsòdə́,	*going on foot and carrying things on the head, ...*

3.2. The Past Participle of Class 2 Verbs. The past participle is a non-finite verb form that is unique to verb class 2. The past participle form of class 2 verbs may be used as a predicate adjective describing a completive state, but is most often used as a descriptive, adjectival modifier in the noun phrase. Its modifier function is elaborated on page 197.

The past participle is formed through the suffixation to the root of the morpheme +kata, in its basic form. Its allomorphs +gata, +ata, +wata, etc. are recorded in the SKO as they are pronounced and are predictable on the basis of the phonological description of the changes in g/k in different environments, as presented on page 19, The Velar Consonants. The tone of the suffix is predictably polar to the tone of the class 2 verb root to which it is applied, thus nápkàtà *seated*, dáátà *standing*, etc. It should be noted that the form if the past participle is identical to the 3P past form of the verb in the passive-reflexive derivation, which is a finite verb form from which it may have originated. A small sample of examples showing the use of the past participle are presented here.

Àwó kâm kúrà nápkàtàyè súrìndə́, tádà gàná dààtàmáyè súrìnbâ.	*Even when standing, the young boy cannot see when the seated old man can see.*
Ádə̀ nòwátà.	*That is well known.*
Kâm wàzàgàlérò bòwátàrò shíllówù fəíégə̀mbâ.	*You don't have to show the stars to the person lying on his back.*

SECTION V: NONVERBAL PREDICATE TYPES

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CHAPTER 16: NONVERBAL PREDICATES OF PRESENTATION AND EXISTENCE

1. Introduction. The predicates treated in this chapter have been referred to in relation to other languages as *non-aspect verbals*. They are verb-like, in that they function as sentential predicates, and yet they have only one basic unchanging form which carries no inflectional morphemes. They cannot be specified for person or subject, nor for verbal aspect. Nonverbal predicates that are used to present something to someone, or to point out something (as in the English *Here's your pen*) are preposed in Kanuri, and thus occur in sentence initial position. Nonverbal predicates expressing existence, either affirmative or negative, (as in *there is/are/not*) are postposed, and thus occur in sentence final position. In a language like English where such predicates are formed with the verb *be*, tense and aspect can be expressed through the inflection of the verb *be*. In Kanuri where there is no overt verb *be*, such nonverbal predicates are marked for time reference through the inclusion of adverbial nouns and oblique adverbial phrases.

2. Nonverbal Predicates of Presentation. The nonverbal predicates ngô and túwò may occur alone sententially to mean *here it is* and *there it is*, respectively, in reference to something that is understood by both participants to the utterance. Elsewhere, they are normally followed by a noun phrase referring to a person or an object. In these and in other uses, either predicate may be accompanied by a gesture of indication on the part of the speaker. This gesture is most often made with the face, whether with the eyes looking in the direction of the object being indicated or presented, or by pointing with the lips in the direction of the object. Such gestures are preferred over pointing with the hand and fingers.

The particle wò (<*gò), which Lukas (1937:143) describes as what is left of an obsolete verb *to be*, is apparently a formative of both of these nonverbal predicates. The historical formative prefix n+ with its characteristic high tone may have been prefixed to this in the formation of ngô. The prefix tú+, which is a formative of the demonstratives túdù *that* and túnyì *those*, appears to have originally been applied to wò in the formation of túwò.

In general, the use of ngô may be said to occur when the object referred to is close to the speaker, and the use of túwò, to something further from the speaker. Though they may be used in this way to distinguish near objects from far objects, the normal accompaniment of each with a gesture often removes the need for this verbal distinction. Therefore, the near form ngô is often preferred in relation to both near and far objects/people. Both of these predicates are somewhat exclamatory in many of their uses, and often occur in reference to an object that has been misplaced or is hard to find and suddenly discovered. It is perhaps due to this exclamatory role, and their effect in immediately capturing the attention of the listener that they are the only nonverbal predicates which occur sentence initially, in violation of the expected sentence final position according to the SOV typology of the language. Neither has a corresponding negative form. Neither may occur with time adverbials. In their basic use for presentation and indication, they are naturally always used in relation to visible objects/people. The following examples are typical of their basic use.

Ngô.	*Here./Here it is./Behold.*
Túwò.	*There./There it is./Over there.*
Ngô shí.	*Here s/he/it is.*
Túwò shí.	*There s/he/it is.*

Ngô fə̂rnyí.	*Here is my horse.*
Túwò fânnyí.	*There is my house.*
Túwò fânnzá túkkùàn.	*There is their house, over there.*
Ngô shí, nâ ádə̀làn.	*Here s/he/it is, right here/in this place.*
Túwò sàndí, fə̂rlàn lèzâisòdə́.	*There they are, the ones going on horseback.*

Ngô is frequently used to present things to people physically, whether gifts or not, and its use naturally draws the attention of the recipient. When giving a gift, the giver does not normally want to cite the name of the gift and it is common practice to belittle it modestly as is shown in some of the following examples. When paper money is given, its value is very often hidden by folding it up, and may be tucked into the recipient's hand. In this and in other contexts as well, ngô may be used without necessary reference to an understood or expressed object, but simply alone, in order to get someone's attention.

Ngô kúngə́nànə́m	*Here is your money.*
Ngô àwó gàná láá.	*Here is some small thing.*
Ngô àwó góròbè.	*Here is something for (buying) kola.*
Ngô górò.	*Here is some kola/money.*
Ngô bírònyə́m	*Here is your pen.*
Ngô shí, góné.	*Here it is, take it.*
Ngô àwó kə̀skê ádə̀ nyírò cíwúdə̀kò.	*Here, I brought you this unimportant thing.*
Ngô, ádə̀làn tàdàwárò míntì yíwé.	*Here, buy candy for the children with this.*

The object following ngô may also be marked by the associative postposition in certain environments to make the distinction shown in the following pair of examples.

Ngô shí.	*Here it is (when holding out the object).*
Ngô shíà.	*Here it is (when pointing towards the object).*

One may also hear ngô and túwò used appositively, almost as an afterthought following the object being presented or indicated. Here the preceding object is followed by a slight pause, as shown below.

Kúngə́nànə́m, ngô.	*Your money, here it is.*
Mátòndé, túwò.	*Our car, there it is.*

Túwò also occurs in the exclamation túwò fàné, which might be translated as the English *imagine that*. This exclamation is used to show one's interest or enthusiasm upon hearing an interesting piece of gossip or information, in order to encourage to speaker to continue.

3. **Nonverbal Predicates Expressing Existence**. In this section, two different ways of expressing existence affirmatively are presented. The nonverbal predicate mbéjí/mbézâi, is one of the forms used, and the other is the associative postposition +(C+)à. Both of these forms share the same negative form bâ, which is also described here.

3.1. **The Nonverbal Predicate mbéjí/mbézâi**. This nonverbal predicate is used to affirm the existence of a person or thing. The person or thing occurs as a noun phrase, always preceding this sentence final predicate. When it is also preceded by a locative adverbial expression, mbéjí/mbézâi may also be used to locate objects and people. The singular form mbéjí is most commonly used and may occur with both singular and plural objects. The plural form mbézâi, may be used with plural objects for those speakers who make the singular/plural distinction.

The nonverbal predicate mbéjí, less commonly mbézâi, appears to have originated from a class 2 verb whose root was mbé+. The singular/plural distinction made by mbéjí vs. mbézâi is identical to that made in third person class 2 verb forms. Tone pattern and form would suggest that they are originally 3S and 3P verb emphasis completive verb forms, although today they exist only in these apparently third person forms, and in no other verb aspect in Yerwa Kanuri. The verb whose root is mbé+ with this same meaning was however discovered as a complete, fully inflected class 2 verb in all persons and aspects in the Manga dialect of Machina, in northern Borno State.

The nonverbal predicate mbéjí may also occur alone to indicate that something that is understood in the utterance context *exists* or *is there*. mbéjí occurs formulaically in greetings exchanges. Whenever a greetings question is asked using the interrogative ndâ? *what about/how is?*, the pat answer that is required in the language almost always includes mbéjí (or in some cases its negative counterpart bâ). In the greetings context, as elsewhere, the object of the nonverbal predicate may or may not be included in the response, where it is understood.

Ndâ cídà?	*How is work?*
(Cídà) mbéjí, kə̀léwà.	*There is work, it is fine.*
Ndâ kǎusù?	*How is the heat?*
(Kǎusù) mbéjí, kə̀léwà.	*There is heat.*
Ndâ yâlnə́m?	*How is your family?*
(Yâlnyí) mbéjí, kə̀léwà.	*My family is there, they are fine.*
Ndâ ngə́nə́wù?	*How is the struggle/fatigue.*
(Ngə́nə́wù) mbéjí/bâ.	*There is/is not fatigue.*

In the presence of a locative adverbial expression, mbéjí may be used to locate people or things. With certain such expressions, such sentences may imply ownership or location, as shown below.

Álì fátòn mbéjí wá?	*Is Ali at home?*
Álì mbéjí wá?	*Is Ali there?*
Fátòn njî mbéjí wá?	*Is there water in the house/at home?*
Nânzən kúngə́nà mbéjí.	*He has money/there is money at his place.*
Nânzə̂n mbéjí.	*He has some of it/there is some with him.*

Other examples of the use of mbéjí are presented here.

Sàndí mbéjí wá?	*Are they there?*
Njî mbéjí wá?	*Is there any water?/Do you have some water?*
Àâ, mbéjí.	*Yes, there is.*
Mbéjí shé.	*Of course there is.*
Àbísô mbéjí nânzən./nânzən mbéjí.	*S/He has everything.*
Kâm lèjîn mbéjí wá?	*Is there anyone going?*
Àwô rángnə́mmà mbéjí wá?	*Is there anything you can do?*
Shí mbéjí.	*S/He/It is there.*

3.2. The Associative Postposition as a Nonverbal Predicate. As a nonverbal predicate, the associative postposition in some way predicates the existence of the noun phrase that it marks, and may relate the predicated constituent to the entire context of the utterance, or to some other constituent preceding it in the sentence. The basic phonological structure of the associative postposition can be depicted as +(C+)à, but the phonetic realization of this basic form is conditioned by the final element of the morpheme preceding it. After a final consonant, the (C+) of the associative +(C+)à assimilates to the consonant preceding it, as in: Kû kàsâmmà. *It is breezy today.* After a front vowel, the (C+) is realized in pronunciation as the semivowel y, though this is not recorded according to the SKO, as in: Njîà [njîyà]. *It is raining.* After a back vowel, the (C+)

is realized in pronunciation (not in the SKO) as the semivowel w, as in Kámúnzə́ súrə́à [súrówà]. *His wife is pregnant.* After a central vowel, (C+) has no phonetic realization.

In the following examples, the associative postposition occurs as a nonverbal predicate, applied to a noun. Here the noun is the apparent subject of such examples, and the associative postposition, the predicate. The existence is asserted in relation to nature or the universe, since no other constituent precedes this postpositional phrase. This unencumbered environment clearly reveals the existential nature of the associative.

Tə̀mâà./Tə̀mâ mbéjí.	*There is hope.*
Njîà.	*There is water./It is raining.*
Dàlîllà./Dàlîl mbéjí.	*There is a reason.*
Kǎusùà.	*There is heat./It is hot out.*
Njîà; rânggè ísə́kə̀nyí.	*It was raining; I couldn't come.*

In the greetings exchange environment described in 3.1 above, the nonverbal predicate mbéjí is the only acceptable predicate for such utterances. In examples like the above cited here however, where greetings are not involved, sentences with mbéjí and with the associative postposition may be synonymous. In relation to climatic conditions, the mbéjí form is used only in the greetings context formulaically, whereas the associative form is used to describe prevalent climatic conditions.

When preceded by an adverbial expression of time or place, associative predicates like those cited above are thereby qualified, and the existence of the associative marked noun is therefore asserted in relation to that qualifier. Thus the time or the place is characterized by the associative marked noun. Preceded by a time adverbial, this construction is often used to describe the weather at a given time, or any other prevalent or existing condition, as in the following examples.

Kû kákùà.	*It is cold out today.*
Bískà kǎusùà.	*It was hot out yesterday.*
Kə́mə́ndè kə̀nâà.	*There is hunger/famine this year.*
Kû sálàà wá?	*Is there prayer today?*

Preceded by a locative expression, this same construction is used to describe something which characteristically exists in a place. Such constructions may have a possessive connotation as is demonstrated in the first example below.

Nânzə̂n kúngə́nàà.	*There is money at his/her place./ S/He has got money.*
Ngàwùrènzə̂n kánnúà.	*Its tail is on fire.*
Fânnzə̂n kàlâmmà.	*It is breezy in his/her house.*
Gə̀dí kànádíbèlàn zánnàà.	*There is paradise at the source of patience.*

An autonomous noun phrase may also precede an associative nonverbal predicate as qualifier or modifier. This sentence initial noun phrase position may be matched within the associative postpositional phrase by a coreferrent possessive pronoun suffix occurring between the noun and the associative postposition. Therefore, Shí kúngə́nàà. *S/He has money.* may become with the possessive pronoun suffix Shí kúngə́nànzə́à, and alternatively with the initial independent pronoun deleted, Kúngə́nànzə́à. *S/He has money.* Here the associative nonverbal predicate asserts the existence of the noun that it marks either as a possession of or as a characteristic of the preceding noun phrase, which may be represented by the possessive pronoun suffix within the associative postpositional phrase. This type of construction produces sentences describing physical sensations, pre/occupation, ownership, and possession, as is clear from the following examples.

Módù kə̀nâà.	*Modu is hungry.*
Módù kə̀nânzə́à.	*Modu is hungry.*
Shí kə̀nânzə́à.	*S/He is hungry.*
Kə̀nânzə́à.	*S/He is hungry.*
(Wú) wújìrnyíà.	*I am on business./I have business to do.*
Nyânzə́à.	*S/He has his/her plans/intends to do so.*
Cídàndéà.	*We are busy/have work to do.*
Tə̀mânzáà.	*They have their hopes/hope so.*

In environments like the above involving a noun of physical sensation or pre/occupation, the form in which the possessive suffix occurs is apparently synonymous with that in which it does not occur.

In describing ownership and possession, the associative postposition predicates the existence of the noun it marks together with its owner, i.e. the sentence-initial noun phrase. The occurrence of the possessive suffix which is coreferent to that initial noun phrase, with or without its cooccurring with the initial noun phrase, implies that noun phrase's title to or ownership of the associative marked noun. The absence of the coreferrent possessive pronoun suffix may imply only temporary possession rather than ownership, as shown here.

(Kû) Módù kèkéà.	*Modu has a bicycle (today).*
Módù kèkénzə́à.	*Modu has/owns a bicycle.*
Kû Módù kèkénzə́à.	*Modu has his bicycle with him today.*

When the coreferrent, sentence initial noun phrase antecedent is a personal pronoun, the independent pronoun is normally omitted in neutral environments. Thus the owner is then represented only by the possessive pronoun suffix.

Kèkénzə́à.	*S/He has/owns a bicycle.*
Fə̄rnə́mmà wá?	*Do you have/own a horse?*
Àwónə́mmà.	*You own things./You are well off.*
Férò ádə̀ kwânzə́à.	*This girl is married/has her husband.*
Kâm ádə̀ dímìnzə́ mìyâà.	*This person owns one hundred sheep.*

This same construction type may be used for simple description, when no question of ownership is involved. In such cases, the coreferrent possessive pronoun suffix is normally omitted.

Də́lá yámgà búltùbèà.	*The jackal has the audacity of the hyena.*
Kámúnzə́ súróà.	*His wife is pregnant/has a stomach.*

The uses of the associative postposition in other environments where it does not function as a nonverbal predicate are discussed in detail on pages 199 ff.

3.3. The Nonverbal Negative Predicate of Existence bâ/báwò. The affirmative predicates of existence mbéjí and the associative postposition, both share the same negative form, i.e. bâ, which is alternatively pronounced and written as báwò. It may be translated into English as *it does/they do not exist or there is/are not/none*. The form bâ represents a contracted form of báwò, and it is the shorter form which is normally preferred and more frequently used. Báwò is apparently originally derived through the incorporation of a negative particle something like *bá+, and the predicating particle wò (which Lukas, 1937:143 referred to as an obsolete verb *to be*). In certain environments, the longer form may be preferred in order to imply emphasis, or to reinforce the negative meaning. As was the case with the affirmative nonverbal predicates of existence, likewise with bâ/báwò ownership or here non-ownership or possession may be implied.

Cídà bâ.	*There is no work.*
Cídànyí bâ.	*I have no work/nothing to do.*
Kû kǎusù bâ.	*It is not hot out today.*
Shí fâtòn bâ.	*S/He is not at home.*
Nânzən kúngənà bâ.	*S/He has no money.*
Kúngənà bâ nânzən.	*S/He has no money.*
Mátòndé bâ.	*We don't have a car./Our car is not there.*
Fərwánzá bâ.	*They don't have any horses./Their horses are not there.*
Nânzân njî bâ.	*They have no water./They have had no rain in their area.*
Fânnzən shí bâ.	*S/He is not at home.*
Bâ shâl.	*There is none at all./S/He is nowhere to be seen.*
Báwò.	*There is none./S/He/It is not there.*
Nyílàn nyìyânyí báwò.	*My marriage with you is absolved./I have no marriage with you.*
Góròlàn mərádənyí bâ.	*I have no desire for kola.*

Bâ/Báwò occurs frequently with the negative indefinite pronouns formed from the interrogative pronouns through the suffixation of +má (see p. 52) as shown in the following examples.

Sâdən, ndúmá bâ.	*At that time there was noone there.*
Àbímá bâ.	*There is nothing./It is/was nothing./It doesn't matter./You're welcome.*
Ndárámân shí bâ.	*S/He was nowhere at all.*
Kâm fálmá bâ.	*There is not a single person.*
Kâmmà wá? Á'à, ndúmá báwò.	*Is someone there? No, noone at all.*

Negative questions of existence may be asked with the nonverbal predicate bâ plus the yes-no question marker wá. The two may be contracted, or the latter may be omitted, asking the question simply by interrogative intonation.

Ndúmá bâ (wá)?	*Is there noone there?*
Kàánəm bâ (wá)?	*Don't you have one?*

One very important use of this nonverbal predicate is its morphological role in the derivation of the negative imperfect aspect of the verb. Because the negative imperfect is formed through the simple suffixation of bâ/báwò to the imperfect aspect forms of the verb (see pp. 115 ff), many authors have not recognized the negative imperfect as an autonomous aspect of the Kanuri verb.

CHAPTER 17: NONVERBAL PREDICATES OF IDENTIFICATION, DESCRIPTION, LOCATION, AND THE POSTPOSITIONS

1. Introduction. This chapter will describe in detail all of the simple sentence types used to identify, describe, and locate in Kanuri, without the use of a verbal predicate. Both affirmative and negative forms of these sentences will be introduced. The sentence types described here are syntactically and semantically distinct from the nonverbal predicates of existence described in the preceding ch.16. There an overt nonverbal functioned as the predicate of the existential sentence. For many of the sentence types described in the present chapter there is no overt nonverbal predicate, and the nonverbal sentences are formed through the simple juxtaposition of constituents (words and phrases). As mentioned on page 10 , and elsewhere, there is no overt verb *to be* in Kanuri. Thus sentences formed in this way carry no inherent inflectional marking for aspect, etc. Time may be indicated in such sentence by the inclusion of adverbial expressions. When two nominal constituents are juxtaposed, identificational and equational sentences are formed. Sentences of description and location are formed through the juxtaposition of a nominal constituent and an adjectival noun, or a nominal constituent and a postpositional phrase. As will be shown, not all of the postpositions may occur productively in nonverbal environments.

2. Identification and Description Through the Juxtaposition of Constituents. Because Kanuri has no overt verb *to be*, a great many sentences are formed through the simple juxtaposition of constituents. Sentences of this type are very commonly used for identification and description, and thus it is perhaps the most productive of the nonverbal predicates of the language. When nominal constituents are juxtaposed, as in the following examples, sentences of identification are produced. Such sentences may be described as equational.

Álì bàrèmá.	*Ali is a farmer.*
Fántà Kànúrì.	*Fanta is a Kanuri.*
Módù sáwànyí.	*Modu is my friend.*
Bórnò lárdə̀ndé.	*Borno is our country.*
Sádə̀ njî kúrà.	*Lake Chad is a large body of water.*
Ìkó bə́là kúrà.	*Lagos is a big city.*
Yêrwà bə́lànzə́.	*Yerwa is his/her town.*
Músà tádà mâindébè.	*Musa is a son of our king.*
Háwà yândé.	*Hawa is our mother.*
Ádə̀ kə̀rámìnyí.	*This is my younger brother/sister.*
Sûnzə́ Fánnà.	*Her name is Fanna.*
Túdù fə̂rnzá.	*That is their horse.*
Shí málàm mòwòntíbè.	*He is a school teacher.*
Sàndí fùwùràwá.	*They are Koranic students.*

When a nominal constituent in subject position is followed by an adjectival noun in predicate position, then sentences of description are produced. The adjectival noun thus constitutes a predicate adjective, as shown in the following examples.

Músà díwì.	*Musa is bad/mean.*
Rábì zâu.	*Rabi is difficult/harsh/severe.*
Bə́lànzá kúrà.	*Their town is big.*
Wàdâi cîntə̀.	*Wadai is far away.*
Báràm bə́là ádə̀bè njînzə́ gàná.	*This town's well has very little water.*
Njítìnə́m bùzùzú.	*Your beard is growing wild/not well trimmed.*
Fánnà kə̀léwà.	*Fanna is fine/well.*

Ádə̀ ngə́là.	*That's good.*
Fə̂rnzə́ sháwà.	*His/Her horse is beautiful/pretty.*
Njî ádə̀ kə̀jî.	*This water is good/pleasant.*
Mátòndé bûl.	*Our car is white.*
Kámúnzə́ ìndí.	*His wives are two./He has two wives.*

The order of the juxtaposed constituents as represented in these examples is the most normal order in which they occur in such sentences. In most cases it is possible to postpose the subject noun phrase appositively when the speaker assumes that the subject of the sentence is understood. When the subject is added appositively in this way, there is a pause (indicated by a comma) in the utterance after the predicate (adjectival) nominal.

Kúrà, bə́lànzá.	*It's big, their town.*
Sháwà, fə̂rnzə́.	*It's beautiful, his/her horse.*
Díwì, Músà.	*He's bad, Musa.*
Fánnà sûnzə́.	*Fanna is her name.*
Bə́lànzə́ Yêrwà.	*His/Her town is Yerwa.*
Málàm mòwòntíbè, shí.	*He's a school teacher, him.*
Kə̀jî, njî ádə̀.	*It's good, this water.*

When semantically appropriate, adverbs of time may occur in such sentences to indicate the time at which the stative relation between the juxtaposed constituents was/is relevant.

Sâdə̂n Fánnà dóndì.	*At that time Fanna was sick.*
Bískà shí ngâ.	*Yesterday s/he was healthy.*
Kə́rmá sàndí kə̀léwà.	*Now they are well.*
Mə́ndè kámúnzə́ ìndí.	*Last year he had two wives.*

When one of the nominal constituent positions is occupied by an interrogative pronoun, the order in which the juxtaposed constituents may occur is free. The variations in order may reflect subtle semantic distinctions dependent on the context of the utterance.

Kùsûnə́m ndáwù?	*Your debt is how much?*
Ndáwù kùsûnə́m?	*How much is your debt?*
Nyí ndú?	*Who are you?*
Ádə̀ àbí?	*What is this?*
Àbí ádə̀?	*What is this?/What is going on?*
Ndáwù kúngə́nànə́m?	*How much money do you have?*

Any of the affirmative juxtapositional sentences of identification and description can be turned into yes-no questions without any change in the order of the constituents, simply by by adding the yes-no question marker wá in sentence final position. Without the yes-no question marker, yes-no questions may be produced through the application of an interrogative intonation. Both ways of asking yes-no questions are quite commonly used, and students of spoker Kanuri should be able to produce both forms.

Álì bàrèmá (wá)?	*Is Ali a farmer?*
Sûnzə́ Fánnà (wá)?	*Is her name Fanna?*
Fánnà kə̀léwà (wá)?	*Is Fanna well?*
Bə́lànzá kúrà (wá)?	*Is their town big?*
Ádə̀ ngə́là (wá)?	*Is that good/O.K.?*

3. Identifying and Describing with Sentences Made up of a Single Constituent.

When the subject of a juxtaposed nonverbal predicate is a pronoun which is identified or described by the predicate, then that subject noun phrase may be omitted, leaving the predicate to stand alone sententially. Similarly, the interrogative pronouns frequently occur alone in this way, with the subject being asked about understood in the context. This process of omitting the part of a sentence that goes without saying because it is commonly understood by the parties to the utterance is referred to by linguists as ellipsis, and has been described in relation to many languages.

Ngə́là.	*(It/That's) good.*
Sháwà.	*(S/He/It's) beautiful/pretty.*
Zə̀lí.	*(S/He/It's) crazy.*
Díwì.	*(S/He/It's) bad.*
Málàm mə̀wə̀ntíbè.	*(He's) a school teacher.*
Kàánzà.	*It is theirs.*
Kə̀léwà.	*(S/He/they/everything is/are) well/fine.*

Àbí?	*What (is it)?*
Ndú?	*Who (is it)?*
Ndá?	*Where is it?/What about it?*
Sàbí?	*When (is it)?*
Ndáwù?	*How many/much (is it/are they)?*
Àbígâi?	*How (is everything)?*

In the preceding chapter (page 169) it was observed that in some contexts where the associative postposition functions as nonverbal predicate of existence, a subject pronoun could be matched within the predicate of the sentence by a suffixed possessive pronoun, and the independent subject pronoun even omitted when the possessive occurred. There sentences like Mə́dù/Shí kə̀nââ. *Modu/S/He is hungry.* were shown to be paraphrasable by Mə́dù/Shí kə̀nânzə́à, or in the latter case, even by simply Kə̀nânzə́à. *S/He is hungry.* Such sentences have no independently manifested subject noun phrase, this function apparently being carried by the copied possessive pronoun suffix. The same is possible with certain of the descriptive nonverbal predicates under consideration here, as shown below. As was the case with regard to the associative postposition, here also, the form in which the independent pronoun subject is omitted is very often preferred.

Nyí kə̀léwà (wá)?	*Are you well?/How are you?*
Nyí kə̀léwànə́m (wá)?	*Are you well?/How are you?*
Kə̀léwànə́m?	*Are you well?/How are you?*
Kə̀léwànzə́ shé?	*I hope s/he is well?*
Nyí ngâ (wá)?	*Are you fit/healthy?*
Ngânə́m (wá)?	*Are you fit/healthy?*
Ngânyí sár.	*I am in perfect health.*
Ngânzə́.	*S/He is healthy.*
Shí tìló.	*S/He is alone/by himself/herself/single.*
Shí tìlónzə́.	*S/He is alone/by himself/herself.*
Tìlónzə́.	*S/He is alone/by himself/herself.*

Below are presented another small set of examples involving a single noun phrase made up of a noun and a possessive pronoun suffix. They appear to be identical syntactically to the preceding set of examples but they cannot be derived in the same way. They do not have a counterpart form or paraphrase in which the subject pronoun is manifested independently. The possessive pronoun suffix is again interpretable as subject when such examples are translated into English. They are presented here because of their apparent similarity to the preceding examples. They however might best be classified as idioms.

jírè	*true, correct, right*
Jírèndó.	*You (pl) are right.*
Jírènzá.	*They are right.*
kàttúwù	*lie*
Kàttúwùnə́m.	*You are lying.*

bə́lì	*excrement, feces, shit*
Bə́lìnzə́.	*S/He is lying.*
kə̀jí	*sweet, pleasant, enjoyable*
Kə̀jínə́m.	*You are lucky./You have all the luck.*
Kə̀jínzá.	*They are lucky./They have all the luck.*
kúttù	*bad, unpleasant, disagreeable*
Kúttùnzá.	*Too bad for them./They are unfortunate.*
dólè	*obligatory, necessary*
Dólèndé.	*We must/have to.*
Dólènə́m.	*You must/have to.*
màrtáwá	*never; impossible; unheard of*
Màrtáwánə́m.	*You could never (do it)./Impossible for you.*

4. Postpositional Phrases as Nonverbal Predicates. Of the six postpositions of Kanuri that were introduced on page 8, only the agent postposition +yè, and the directional 'via' postposition +mbèn, never occur in the type of noverbal predicates under consideration in this chapter. The role of the associative postposition +(C+)à as a nonverbal predicate of existence was explained in the preceding chapter (page 169). Thus though semantically different from the sentence types under consideration in the present chapter, associative postpositional phrases do fit into the juxtapositional syntactic frame being described here. As will be observed subsequently, the associative postpositional phrase takes on very different semantic roles in different environments: 1) it can modify a head noun within the noun phrase as seen on p. 199, 2) it can be the sign of a direct object in verbal sentences as seen on p. 214, and 3) it can indicate an adverbial clause as seen in ch. 31. It will be the purpose of this section to examine the roles played by the three other postpositions when they occur in postpositional phrases in juxtapositional nonverbal environments. These are: 1) the locative/means postposition +(là+)n, 2) the genitive postposition +bè, and 3) the indirect postposition +rò. Like the associative postposition, the functions of these three postpositions in nonverbal predicates are somewhat limited. They take on different roles both syntactically and semantically in the environment of the verbal sentence, and as well in adverbial clauses.

4.1. The Locative/Means Postposition in Nonverbal Predicates. The locative/means postposition +(là+)n functions only in its locative role in nonverbal predicates. When such a postpositional phrase occurs as the predicate of a sentence, it functions semantically to locate the preceding subject noun phrase, as in the following examples.

Músà kàsúwùlàn.	*Musa is in/at the market.*
Shíà, cí báràmbèlàn.	*Him, he is at the water's edge.*
Shí ndân?	*Where is s/he?*
Sàndí ndáràn?	*Where are they?*
Sàndí fátə̀n.	*They are at home.*
Kâudə́ díwàllìn yàlân.	*The rock is to the north of the path.*
Músà yé dáwùn.	*Musa too is included/in the middle.*
Fánnà fânnzə̂n.	*Fanna is at her house.*

The selection of the variant forms of this postposition has yet to be explained. In many environments both the +làn and the +n form are possible, with no apparent semantic difference. Another less common form +nyìn, which assimilates to any preceding consonant, also occurs, again with no apparent semantic distinction being made. For some speakers, the use of this postposition to indicate phrases of means and instrumentals, consistently correlates with the +làn form. They allow freer selection of the form of this postposition in other semantic environments. Though instrumental and means phrases occur most often in verbal environments, it is possible to produce this interpretation in a nonverbal predicate as well.

Sàndí àbílàn?	*What are they on?*
Sàndí fə̂rlàn.	*They are on horseback.*
Shí kàlìímòlàn.	*S/He is on a camel/camelback.*

In the following examples, a locative postpositional phrase occurs in sentence initial position, followed by an associative postpositional phrase. As described in the preceding chapter (V.16:3.2), the associative functions to predicate the existence of the noun it marks in relation to or as characteristic of the place described in the preceding locative postpositional phrase. Possession may be implied by such constructions.

Múskònəmmìn góròà wá?	*Do you have some kola in your hand?*
Nânəmmìn kèkéà wá?	*Have you got a bicycle?*
Fânnzə̂n fə̂rrà.	*There's a horse at his/her house.*
Fátòn âmmà.	*There are people at home/in the house.*
Músàlàn kúngə́nàà.	*Musa has money.*

4.2. The Genitive Postposition in Nonverbal Predicates. Genitive postpositional phrases occur most productively in Kanuri in noun phrases as modifiers of a head noun. The modifier role of the genitive phrase is examined in detail on p. 197. In nonverbal predicates, genitive postpositional phrases function as descriptive predicates, like predicate adjectives. There the noun marked by the genitive postposition +bè, refers to the owner of the preceding subject noun phrase. Such sentences are thus formed through the juxtaposition of a nominal constituent in sentence initial position, followed by the genitive phrase.

By most Kanuri speakers, the genitive postposition is fully pronounced as +bè only when it is applied to a word with a final nasal consonant. Elsewhere it is completely weakened and is often impossible to distinguish from the agent postposition +yè. Some speakers pronounce it like the agent postposition even after nasal consonants, making the two postpositions virtually indistinguishable in all occurrences.

Fátò ádə̀ Músàbè.	*This house is Musa's/belongs to Musa.*
Fə̂r ádə̀ Álìbè.	*This horse is Ali's/belongs to Ali.*
Ádə̀ ndúbè?	*Whose is this?*
Ádə̀ fátòbè.	*This is of/from the house.*
Ádə̀ làdòbè/lə̀wáyàbè.	*This is for selling/sale.*
Ádə̀ ndáwùbè?	*This is for how much/how much worth?*

4.3. The Indirect Postposition in Nonverbal Predicates. The indirect postposition +rò carries a great functional load in Kanuri. The postpositions +rò and +(là+)n are the most important oblique (adverbial) postpositions of the language, and they naturally occur most often in verbal environments. In the majority of its uses the postposition +rò entails some kind of movement or direction, whether it be direct and physical, or abstract (e.g. intentional). Therefore, it rarely occurs in nonverbal predicates of the type being considered here. In the examples below, its use results in a dative interpretation.

The postposition +rò is always written as +rò according to the SKO, regardless of its pronunciation. For some speakers it assimilates in pronunciation to any final sonorant consonant.

Ádə̀ nyíròò nóngùà.	*That is shameful for you.*
Ádə̀ shíròò kúrà.	*This is big for you.*
Ádə̀ àndíròò fáidàà.	*That/This is useful for us.*
Cídàdə́ ndúsórò wájìb.	*Work is obligatory for everyone.*

The adverbial intensifier zâurò *very, really*, which is formed through the application of the indirect postposition +rò to the adjectival noun zâu *difficult, severe, harsh*, does occur in nonverbal predicates to intensify a constituent. Its position may vary quite freely.

Ádə̀ zâurò ngə́là.	*That is very good.*
Ádə̀ ngə́là zâurò.	*That is very good.*
Zâurò ádə̀ ngə́là.	*That is really good.*
Zâurò ngə́là ádə̀.	*That is really good.*
Fânnzá kúrà zâurò.	*Their house is very big.*
Fânnzá zâurò kúrà.	*Their house is very big.*
Zâurò fânnzá kúrà.	*Their house is really big.*
Shí zâurò cìdàmá.	*S/He is a very hard worker.*

5. Negating Nonverbal Predicates of Identification, Description and Location. All of the nonverbal predicates formed through the juxtaposition of constituents that have been described in this chapter are negated in the same way. The negative nonverbal predicate gə̀nyí is used in sentence final position to negate the nonverbal predicate of juxtaposition which precedes it. A selection of examples from the various sections of this chapter are shown here in their negative forms.

Álì bàrèmá gə̀nyí.	*Ali is not a farmer.*
Sûnzə́ Fánnà gə̀nyí.	*Her name is not Fanna.*
Shí málàm mòwòntíbè gə̀nyí.	*He is not a school teacher.*
Bə́lànzá kúrà gə̀nyí.	*Their town is not big.*
Ádə̀ ngə́là gə̀nyí	*That is not good.*
Njí ádə̀ kə̀jí gə̀nyí. Kúttù.	*This water is not good. It is unpleasant.*
Sâdə̂n Fánnà dóndì gə̀nyí.	*At that time Fanna was not sick.*
Músà kàsúwùlàn gə̀nyí. Shí fátòn.	*Musa is not in the market. He's at home.*
Fánnà fânnzə̂n gə̀nyí.	*Fanna is not at her house.*

It is clear that the negative nonverbal predicate gə̀nyí is always postposed, occurring after the element that it negates. In the above examples from sentence final position it functions to negate the entire predication. When postposed after a given constituent within the sentence, it may be used to negate only that constituent, as was observed for example in relation to the noun emphasis completive aspect (page 126) where it negated subject and object noun phrases. As will be observed in chapter 18, it may also be used to negate a constituent within a nonverbal predicate. With regard to its pronunciation, the initial g+ is never fully pronounced. It is weakened to a fricative form, or even not pronounced at all by some speakers, just as though it were occurring intervocalically. It is possible that gə̀nyí was originally formed through the process of k-prefixation, the k/g prefix having been applied to the negative morpheme +nyí, which occurs alone as the negative formative of the negative completive aspect of the verb (see p. 127).

Negative yes-no questions may be formed through the use of the negative gə̀nyí followed by the yes-no question marker wá.

Módù gə̀nyí wá?	*Isn't it Modu?*
Á'à, shí gə̀nyí.	*No, it isn't him/her.*
Shí bàrèmá gə̀nyí wá?	*Isn't s/he a farmer?*
Fánnà kàsúwùlàn gə̀nyí wá?	*Isn't Fanna in the market?*

CHAPTER 18: NONVERBAL PREDICATES OF COMPARISON

1. Introduction. Comparative sentences of Kanuri are structurally rooted in the juxtapositional nonverbal sentence type, as described in relation to nonverbal predicates of identification and description in the preceding chapter 17. There sentences like the following formed through the juxtaposition of a nominal and an adjectival noun were discussed.

Bə́lànzá kúrà.	*Their town is big.*

In Kanuri, the comparative form of an adjectival noun is not formed morphologically like it is in English where for example *bigger* is derived from *big*. Only the absolute form of the adjectival noun exists with no grades of comparison being reflected in a comparative and a superlative form. In the above juxtapositional sentence, the structure is essentially that of two juxtaposed noun phrase positions. Kanuri comparatives are formed through syntactic variation of the above structure involving the two noun phrase positions. A third noun phrase position is added to the structure in a postpositional phrase marked by the indirect postposition +rò, and the predicating particle wò is added in sentence final position, after the predicate adjectival noun, as shown below.

Bə́lànzá Bámàrò kúrà wò.	*Their town is bigger than Bama.*

Thus, Kanuri comparatives are expressed relationally through juxtaposition and syntactic marking of noun phrases. It will be the purpose of this chapter to discuss this sentence type in detail, and to present and explain all of the possible variants of it that are used in spoken Kanuri.

2. The Role of the Predicating Particle wò in Comparative Sentences. Lukas (1937:143) described our predicating particle wò (his gò) as "what is left of an obsolete verb *to be*". Evidence based on the use of this particle in focus constructions (see p. 249) would corroborate Lukas' suggestion, given the way focus constructions translate into English and other languages. Koelle (1854:277) referred to this particle as a "predicative suffix", which he said occurs frequently after the predicate of a proposition "with the purpose ... of marking it as such, thus answering in a measure, to the copula of other languages. But probably it is expressive, at the same time, of some emphasis or distinction."

In simple, nonverbal environments, the predicating particle wò is used to focus a preceding constituent in some way. This may occur when the semantics requires insistence perhaps due to repetition, emphasis, or contrast. Constituents focused by wò may be contrasted in opposition to a preceding constituent negated by the negative gə̀nyí.

Ndú?	*Who?*
Ndú wò?	*WHO is it?*
Àbí?	*What?*
Àbí wò?	*WHAT is it?*
Ndásò kàánzə̀?	*Which one is his/hers?*
Ndásò kàánzə̀ wò?	*WHICH ONE is it that is his/hers?*
Kâm ádə̀ gə̀nyí; kâm túdù.	*It is not this person, that person.*
Kâm ádə̀ gə̀nyí; kâm túdù wò.	*It is not this person, it is THAT person.*

For more examples of the use of wò in these and other related environments see chapter 26.

It is clear from the above examples that the predicating particle wò is used to syntactically mark a constituent or an entire predicate for some form of semantic focus, often best rendered in English by the verb *to be*.

In another type of focus construction, the Kanuri equivalent of the cleft sentence, the predicating particle wò is consistently required to occur in predicate-final position. The use of wò to focus the predicate in this way is matched in such constructions by the focusing of the subject noun phrase, either through emphasis (emphasis marker/adjunct +má), through questioning (yes-no question marker wá), or through constituent negation (negative of identification, etc. gə̀nyí), or through a combination of the latter two (see pp. 250-1).

Shí kúrà.	*S/He is big/important.*
Shímá kúrà wò.	*It is s/he who is big/important.*
Shí wá kúrà wò?	*Is it s/he who is big/important?*
Shí gə̀nyí kúrà wò.	*It is not s/he who is big/important.*
Shí gənyí wá kúrà wò?	*Isn't it s/he who is big/important?*

It is clear that the predicating particle functions to single out or focus the predicate in the above examples of cleft sentences of Kanuri, in a way that matches the focus of the subject noun phrase constituent effected by the various markers. In the first of the above examples, the basic juxtaposed nonverbal structure which functions as the skeleton of all of the following variations on that structure is shown. Thus it is apparent that cleft sentences represent another variation of this basic sentence type, formed through the juxtaposition of two noun phrase constituents. In the above examples, the predicate noun phrase position is filled by an adjectival noun kúrà *big*. The same possibilities exist when it is filled by a noun, as shown below.

Shí bàrèmá.	*S/He is a farmer.*
Shímá bàrèmá wò.	*It is s/he who is a farmer.*
Shí wá bàrèmá wò?	*Is it s/he who is a farmer?*
Shí gə̀nyí bàrèmá wò.	*It is not s/he who is a farmer.*
Shí gə̀nyí wá bàrèmá wò?	*Isn't it s/he who is a farmer?*

As is observed in ch.26, even when a verbal predicate occupies the predicate position in such constructions, it occurs there as the modifier of an understood head noun, and thus the juxtapositional structure always underlies such constructions.

It was noted in the introduction (p. 179) above, that comparative sentences are structurally rooted in the juxtapositional nonverbal sentence type. The fact that focus (cleft) constructions and comparative sentences are both formed in this way, and that the predicating particle wò is required in both construction types, is not merely coincidental. In both construction types, the predicate is singled out by the predicating particle either as that which is distinctive about the subject in the focus construction, or as the criterion upon which the comparison is being made in the comparative sentence. The subject of the comparative sentence is the constituent being compared and is not in any way focused unless come kind of contrastive focus is desired. When the constituent to which the subject is being compared occurs, it is presented in a postpositional phrase marked by the indirect postposition +rò, normally in medial position between the two juxtaposed noun phrase positions. It is the occurrence of this noun phrase plus postposition which distinguishes the comparative sentence from the focus construction, since that position does not exist in the focus construction. Whereas the subject of the focus construction is singled out to the exclusion of all other possible members of a given class of noun phrases as being that which is described by the focused predicate, the subject of the comparative sentence is not exclusively singled out. The latter is only related or compared to a standard noun phrase in the +rò marked postpositional phrase, with regard to the criterion expressed in the focused predicate.

focus:	*NP+focus*		*NP* wò.
comparative:	*NP*	*NP*+rò	*NP* wò.

Thus it is possible to analyze the comparative sentence of Kanuri is a modified variant of the focus construction of Kanuri, both being syntactically rooted in the juxtapositional, nonverbal predicate of identification and description introduced in chapter 17.

3. Making Comparisons. Because focus constructions and comparative sentences are so closely related syntactically, there are naturally environments in which a given sentence is open to more than one interpretation. This is especially true when the subject of comparative sentence is marked by one of the focus markers (referred to in later chapters as *noun phrase status markers*), as is apparent in certain of the following examples. In making comparisons, the standard of the comparison (i.e. the noun phrase object of the postposition +rò) may be either overtly expressed or implied in the context of the utterance. When it is not overtly expressed and the subject of the comparison is marked by one of the noun phrase status markers, then the resulting sentence is identical to a focus construction, and thus open to more than one interpretation when translated into English. This is also shown in certain of the examples below. The apparent ambiguities reflected in the translations below only reflect their possible translation into English when taken out of utterance context. The Kanuri speaker clearly has no problem interpreting them when they occur in context. Note the meaning difference when the particle wò is omitted.

Shí kúrà.	*S/He is big.*
Shí kúrà wò.	*S/He is bigger/biggest.*
Shí Álìrò kúrà wò.	*S/He is bigger than Ali.*
Shí Álìrò kúrà.	*S/He is big for Ali.*
Shímá kúrà wò.	*It is s/he that is bigger/biggest.* *It is s/he that is big.*
Shímá Álìrò kúrà wò.	*It is s/he that is bigger than Ali.*
Músà Fánnàrò kàfúwù.	*Musa is short for Fanna.*
Músà Fánnàrò kàfúwù wò.	*Musa is shorter than Fanna.*
Yàngênzə́ shírò kùrúwù.	*His/Her pants are (too) long for him/her.*
Yàngênzə́ shírò kùrúwù wò.	*His/Her pants are longer than s/he is.*

In the above examples, the predicate position is filled by an adjectival noun and the result is a construction comparable to the adjectival comparison of English. When a noun occurs in this position, comparisons may be made using that noun as the criterion for comparison, as shown here.

Álì bàrèmá wò.	*Ali is really a farmer/is a better farmer.*
Álì Músàrò bàrèmá wò.	*Ali is a better farmer than Musa.*
Álìmá bàrèmá wò.	*Ali is the best farmer./It is Ali who is a farmer.*
Álìmá Músàrò bàrèmá wò.	*It is Ali who is a better farmer than Musa.*

In making comparisons, though the indirect postpositional phrase most naturally occurs medially, between the two juxtaposed noun phrase positions, it is also possible for the +rò phrase incorporating the standard for comparison to occur in sentence initial position, as shown here.

Álìrò(,) Músà gàná wò.	*In comparison to Ali(,) Musa is big/bigger.*
Álìrò(,) Músàmá gàná wò.	*In comparison to Ali(,) it is Musa who is big/bigger.*

4. Ways of Expressing Grades of Comparison and Superlatives. As noted earlier, because the Kanuri adjectival noun may not be inflected for use in making different kinds of comparisons, it is not gradable and occurs only in its absolute form. Comparisons are made through the juxtaposition and the relation of the noun phrase positions with regard to the criterion of comparison in the predicate. Grades of comparison therefore depend on the relation between the subject noun phrase and the noun phrase occurring as the standard of comparison. Through the selection of an exhaustive noun phrase such as an indefinite pronoun as the standard, then this same structure may be used to express the superlative, as shown below.

Fánnà Âisàrò kùrúwù wò.	*Fanna is taller than Aisa.*
Fánnà fèròwá gàpsə́nàsórò kùrúwù wò.	*Fanna is taller than the rest of the girls.*
Fánnà àndí yàkkə́sórò kùrúwù wò.	*Fanna is taller than the three of us.*
Fánnà sàndírò kùrúwù wò.	*Fanna is taller than they are.*
Fánnà àndí sámmásórò kùrúwù wò.	*Fanna is taller than any of us./Fanna is the tallest of all of us.*
Fánnà ndúsórò kùrúwù wò.	*Fanna is taller than everyone./Fanna is the tallest of all.*

It is clear that comparatives interpretable as superlatives are formed within this structure through the raising of the standard by increasing its scope or exhaustiveness so that the subject of the comparison is singled out among a group as unique. The cleft sentence is used to perform this same semantic function, and thus it is clear why the same construction type is used for the two sentence types. Cleft sentences in which the subject noun phrase is marked by the emphasis marker +má may also have a superlative interpretation when translated into English, as shown in some of the following examples (and also in some of the examples in section 3 above). Also shown here are examples in which the standard for comparison is presented in a postpositional phrase marked by the locative/means postposition +(là+)n.

Fánnàdə́má kúrà wò.	*It's Fanna who is big./Fanna is the biggest.*
Súróndên Fánnà kùrúwù wò.	*Fanna is the tallest among us.*
Àndí yàkkə́làn Fánnà kùrúwù wò.	*Fanna is the tallest of the three of us.*
Ndúsórò shímá kùrúwù wò.	*In relation to everyone, it's s/he that is the tallest./S/he is the tallest of all.*

The nonverbal negative predicate of existence may also be used to express the superlative, as shown in the following examples.

Kâm shírò kúrà wò bâ.	*There is no one bigger than him/her.*
Ádə̀rò sháwà wò báwò.	*There is not one prettier than this one.*
Sàndí yàkkə́làn Fánnàrò kùrúwù wò bâ.	*Of the three of them there is none taller than Fanna.*

The nonverbal predicates of existence also occur in examples like the following.

Ádə̀rò gàná wò bâ wá?	*Isn't there one smaller than this one?*
Fə̂r ádə̀rò sháwà wò mbéjí.	*There is a horse prettier than this one.*
Shí túdùrò kúrà wò ngə́wù bâ.	*There are not many bigger than that one there.*

The following are nonverbal expressions of likeness or similarity.

Álì-à Músà-à zâurò sámùn.	*Ali and Musa are very much alike.*
Kâm Fánnàgái ngə́wù bâ.	*There are not many people like Fanna.*
Kâm Fánnàgái mângìn.	*I am looking for someone like Fanna.*
Kâm Fánnàà sámùn mângìn.	*I am looking for someone similar to Fanna.*

focus:	*NP+focus*		*NP* wò.
comparative:	*NP*	*NP*+rò	*NP* wò.

Thus it is possible to analyze the comparative sentence of Kanuri is a modified variant of the focus construction of Kanuri, both being syntactically rooted in the juxtapositional, nonverbal predicate of identification and description introduced in chapter 17.

3. Making Comparisons. Because focus constructions and comparative sentences are so closely related syntactically, there are naturally environments in which a given sentence is open to more than one interpretation. This is especially true when the subject of comparative sentence is marked by one of the focus markers (referred to in later chapters as *noun phrase status markers*), as is apparent in certain of the following examples. In making comparisons, the standard of the comparison (i.e. the noun phrase object of the postposition +rò) may be either overtly expressed or implied in the context of the utterance. When it is not overtly expressed and the subject of the comparison is marked by one of the noun phrase status markers, then the resulting sentence is identical to a focus construction, and thus open to more than one interpretation when translated into English. This is also shown in certain of the examples below. The apparent ambiguities reflected in the translations below only reflect their possible translation into English when taken out of utterance context. The Kanuri speaker clearly has no problem interpreting them when they occur in context. Note the meaning difference when the particle wò is omitted.

Shí kúrà.	*S/He is big.*
Shí kúrà wò.	*S/He is bigger/biggest.*
Shí Álìrò kúrà wò.	*S/He is bigger than Ali.*
Shí Álìrò kúrà.	*S/He is big for Ali.*
Shímá kúrà wò.	*It is s/he that is bigger/biggest.* *It is s/he that is big.*
Shímá Álìrò kúrà wò.	*It is s/he that is bigger than Ali.*
Músà Fánnàrò kàfúwù.	*Musa is short for Fanna.*
Músà Fánnàrò kàfúwù wò.	*Musa is shorter than Fanna.*
Yàngênzə́ shírò kùrúwù.	*His/Her pants are (too) long for him/her.*
Yàngênzə́ shírò kùrúwù wò.	*His/Her pants are longer than s/he is.*

In the above examples, the predicate position is filled by an adjectival noun and the result is a construction comparable to the adjectival comparison of English. When a noun occurs in this position, comparisons may be made using that noun as the criterion for comparison, as shown here.

Álì bàrèmá wò.	*Ali is really a farmer/is a better farmer.*
Álì Músàrò bàrèmá wò.	*Ali is a better farmer than Musa.*
Álìmá bàrèmá wò.	*Ali is the best farmer./It is Ali who is a farmer.*
Álìmá Músàrò bàrèmá wò.	*It is Ali who is a better farmer than Musa.*

In making comparisons, though the indirect postpositional phrase most naturally occurs medially, between the two juxtaposed noun phrase positions, it is also possible for the +rò phrase incorporating the standard for comparison to occur in sentence initial position, as shown here.

Álìrò(,) Músà gàná wò.	*In comparison to Ali(,) Musa is big/bigger.*
Álìrò(,) Músàmá gàná wò.	*In comparison to Ali(,) it is Musa who is big/bigger.*

4. Ways of Expressing Grades of Comparison and Superlatives. As noted earlier, because the Kanuri adjectival noun may not be inflected for use in making different kinds of comparisons, it is not gradable and occurs only in its absolute form. Comparisons are made through the juxtaposition and the relation of the noun phrase positions with regard to the criterion of comparison in the predicate. Grades of comparison therefore depend on the relation between the subject noun phrase and the noun phrase occurring as the standard of comparison. Through the selection of an exhaustive noun phrase such as an indefinite pronoun as the standard, then this same structure may be used to express the superlative, as shown below.

Fánnà Àisàrò kùrúwù wò.	*Fanna is taller than Aisa.*
Fánnà fèròwá gàpsə́nàsórò kùrúwù wò.	*Fanna is taller than the rest of the girls.*
Fánnà àndí yàkkə́sórò kùrúwù wò.	*Fanna is taller than the three of us.*
Fánnà sàndírò kùrúwù wò.	*Fanna is taller than they are.*
Fánnà àndí sámmásórò kùrúwù wò.	*Fanna is taller than any of us./Fanna is the tallest of all of us.*
Fánnà ndúsórò kùrúwù wò.	*Fanna is taller than everyone./Fanna is the tallest of all.*

It is clear that comparatives interpretable as superlatives are formed within this structure through the raising of the standard by increasing its scope or exhaustiveness so that the subject of the comparison is singled out among a group as unique. The cleft sentence is used to perform this same semantic function, and thus it is clear why the same construction type is used for the two sentence types. Cleft sentences in which the subject noun phrase is marked by the emphasis marker +má may also have a superlative interpretation when translated into English, as shown in some of the following examples (and also in some of the examples in section 3 above). Also shown here are examples in which the standard for comparison is presented in a postpositional phrase marked by the locative/means postposition +(là+)n.

Fánnàdə́má kúrà wò.	*It's Fanna who is big./Fanna is the biggest.*
Súróndên Fánnà kùrúwù wò.	*Fanna is the tallest among us.*
Àndí yàkkə́làn Fánnà kùrúwù wò.	*Fanna is the tallest of the three of us.*
Ndúsórò shímá kùrúwù wò.	*In relation to everyone, it's s/he that is the tallest./S/he is the tallest of all.*

The nonverbal negative predicate of existence may also be used to express the superlative, as shown in the following examples.

Kâm shírò kúrà wò bâ.	*There is no one bigger than him/her.*
Ádə̀rò sháwà wò báwò.	*There is not one prettier than this one.*
Sàndí yàkkə́làn Fánnàrò kùrúwù wò bâ.	*Of the three of them there is none taller than Fanna.*

The nonverbal predicates of existence also occur in examples like the following.

Ádə̀rò gàná wò bâ wá?	*Isn't there one smaller than this one?*
Fə̂r ádə̀rò sháwà wò mbéjí.	*There is a horse prettier than this one.*
Shí túdùrò kúrà wò ngə́wù bâ.	*There are not many bigger than that one there.*

The following are nonverbal expressions of likeness or similarity.

Àlì-à Músà-à zâurò sámùn.	*Ali and Musa are very much alike.*
Kâm Fánnàgái ngə́wù bâ.	*There are not many people like Fanna.*
Kâm Fánnàgái mângìn.	*I am looking for someone like Fanna.*
Kâm Fánnàà sámùn mângìn.	*I am looking for someone similar to Fanna.*

5. Using Verbs and Abstract Nominals to Make Comparisons. In addition to the nonverbal comparative sentence, certain verbs may also be used to make comparisons in Kanuri. This is often done with the criterion for comparison presented in a locative/means postpositional phrase as an abstract nominal (of the type described on page 55) and formed through the prefixation of nə̀m+ to an adjectival noun). In the following examples the class 2 verb kó+ *pass, surpass, exceed* is shown as it is used in this way to make comparisons.

Wúà nə̀mkúràn kózə́nà.	*S/He surpasses me in bigness/importance./ S/He is bigger/more important than me.*
Mátò kə̀rítə́làn nyíà kóngə́nà.	*I surpass you at driving./I am a better driver than you.*
Fə̂r ádə̀ kàánə̀m nə̀mdǒin kózə́nà.	*This horse surpasses yours in quickness./ This horse is faster than yours.*

An idiomatic adverbial expression based on this use of the verb kó+ has evolved and is used to mean *exceedingly, extremely*. The expression is nâà kózə́nà(rò), literally *it has surpassed the place*, and it may be used with or without the postposition, depending upon the context, as shown.

Kə̀nânə́mmà wá? Àâ, nâà kózə́nà.	*Are you hungry? Yes, extremely.*
Nâà kózə́nàrò kə̀jî fẫngîn.	*I feel extremely well/happy.*

The class 2 verb ná+ *(II only)* meaning *reach, attain* is also used in this way to make comparative statements, as shown here.

Nyíà nə́ngàlàn názə́gə̀nyí.	*S/He doesn't compare to you/touch you with regard to cunning.*

The class 1 verb tí+ *be equal to, be sufficient* is also used in this way to express comparisons. It occurs only in the 3S form.

Músà nə̀mkùrúwùn sə̀tə̂nyí.	*S/He doesn't reach/equal Musa in height./ S/He is not as tall as Musa.*
Búltùyè kə̀nyérìà búrwòn sə̀tə̂nyí.	*The hyena is not the equal of the squirrel in cleverness.*

SECTION VI: THE NOUN PHRASE: FORM AND FUNCTIONS

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CHAPTER 19: INTRODUCTION TO THE STRUCTURE OF THE NOUN PHRASE

1. Introduction. A noun phrase (hereafter NP) is any nominal constituent which may occur as the subject of a sentence (NP of S), the direct object of the verb (NP of VP), the object of a postposition (NP of PP). These NP positions may be filled by a simple noun, a pronoun, or a noun and its modifiers. It will be the purpose of this chapter to introduce the possible structural forms of the noun-modifier noun phrase in Kanuri, and to show the underlying differences between simple and complex NPs.

All Kanuri NPs are structured so that the head noun occurs initially, followed by its modifiers. All of the modifiers, including the determiners, may be followed by a postposition indicating the function of the entire NP in the matrix sentence. Thus the basic order of the elements making up the Kanuri NP is: head noun + modifier/s (+ function-marking postposition).

In Kanuri, all noun phrases consisting of more than just a noun or pronoun, are formed through the juxtaposition of the head noun and the modifiers. The possible modifier elements which may be juxtaposed to the head noun, may include the following items, according to syntactic type:

a) adjectival nouns (adjectives) possibly followed by ideophones
b) nouns: lexical, verbal, derived
c) postpositional phrases: genitive, locative, associative, *like* phrase
d) nonfinite verb forms: past participle of class 2 verbs
e) numerals: cardinal, ordinal
f) sentences (relative clauses)
g) determiners: demonstratives, articles, possessives
h) post-determiner quantifiers
i) (function-marking postposition)

Of course not all of these modifier types will occur after a given head noun. Modifiers are selected by a speaker for the purpose of clarifying the status of the head noun and the semantic role of the entire NP in the matrix sentence. Modifiers may restrict, delimit, definitize, recall, etc. to the hearer the identity of the referent to which the head noun refers. On the other hand, a modifier might do none of this things, but rather make the reference to an indefinite or exhaustive class of referents. The selection of the head noun is of course crucial in determining the possible modifier types which may follow it. For example, a proper noun like Álì will not normally have a restrictive modifier since it already has a specific and definite referent, without further modification. Proper nouns may however be modified nonrestrictively, as can any noun in the language, e.g. *Ali, who is a friend of mine, ...* A more generic noun like kâm *person*, may occur alone to refer to any person, or to mankind in general, but must be restrictively modified in order to have a definite and specific referent. There is a small set of such generic nouns which may be pronominalized or even deleted when modified by a restrictive sentence modifier, as in: kâm lèzə́nàdə́ *the person that went*, which may become either shí lèzə́nàdə́ *s/he/the one that went*, or simply lèzə́nàdə́ *the one that went*. All of the possible forms of the various modifier types are examined in detail in ch. 20.

A complex noun phrase is a nominal construction occupying one of the NP positions in a sentence, where a sentence either follows the head noun in modifier position, or solely occupies the NP position and thus functions as a nominal constituent. A sentence may occur as the juxtaposed modifier describing the head noun of a NP, as in *the man I saw*, where the sentence *I saw* describes the head noun *the man*. Their relationship may be overtly indicated by the relative *that*, as in *the man that I saw*. In Kanuri the canonical SOV order of constituents applies also within sentences in complex NPs.

Kâm rúkə́nà.	*I saw someone/a person.*
kâm rúkə́nàdə́ ...	*the person that I saw*

It is this type of complex NP which will be examined in detail in chapter 23. On the other hand, nominalized clauses like e.g. *that he arrived* which may function as the subject NP of a sentence like *That he arrived amazed me*, where an embedded sentence functions as a NP argument, will be treated in chapter 24 which centers on nominal clauses.

According to the present analysis, the sentence (relative clause) which modifies a head noun is an adjunct to the head noun, just as are all other modifier types (see Jespersen, 1954:77-78). Such complex NPs are formed through conjunction and are structurally distinct from the embedded sentence complements (as proposed by Thompson, 1971:79-80).

2. Language Typology and Noun Phrase Structure. It is important to relate the order and structure of the constituents of the NP to the typology of the language. When the head noun of a NP is modified by a sentence, the resultant syntactic structure is known as a relative clause construction. In a relative or modifier clause containing a verb, the verb is the final element in the entire NP, followed only by determiners (an independent or suffixed demonstrative, or the indefinite ∅ or lə́á) and possibly also marked by one of the postpositions for function within the main predicate of the sentence. In such constructions therefore, the head noun maintains its order vis-à-vis the verb to which it relates as a constituent, just as it would in the corresponding nonrelative construction. Thus the SOV order relationship is reproduced in the NP. The same is true for all other nominal and oblique constituents of the sentence conjoined as modifier clause, i.e. they occur in preverb position.

Unlike other languages, even other SOV languages, Kanuri does not have either a finite or a nonfinite verb form which can premodify a noun. The only nonfinite participle in the language is the past participle of class 2 verbs which may only occur in the postmodifying position. Only those verb forms which may function as finite verb forms in main predicates are available for use in the modifying clause of the relative construction. This perhaps explains the order and the typological structure of the Kanuri noun phrase, both simple and complex. No simple or complex modifier may precede its head noun, i.e. the head noun must be the antecedent.

The only case that might be considered an exception to this would be the freedom of order that applies to genitival modifiers, where a genitive postpositional phrase (+bè) modifies the head noun.

Certain verb-based nominals like the verbal noun which retain their verbal quality when occuring alone or within other derived nominals, may appear also to be premodified. However the fact that nominal and oblique constituents precede such nominals simply confirms that they have retained their verbal status, and thus apparent premodification reflects simply the canonical SOV order of the language, as in shîlàn lètə̀má *(by foot traveler) one who goes on foot*, górò gə̀ròmá *kola chewer, one who chews kola*. Thus the order of the constituents in the NP consistently remains that required by the SOV structure of the language (see Hutchison, 1976:63 ff., Langdon, 1977:255-284).

2.1. Modifier Position and the Adjectival Noun. If (as suggested on page 36) the lexical category *adjective* does not in fact exist, this observation may have implications with regard to the order and structure of the NP.

English is a language that distinguishes NP structure through changes in the order and syntactic configuration of the elements of the NP. In English adjectival modifiers precede head nouns as in *the fat man*; sentential modifiers follow head nouns as in *the man who is fat*. For genitives, there may exist as many as three order variants, as in *John's book, the book of John's*, and *the book that is John's*. Since Kanuri has only one possible modifier position, when certain NPs of the language are examined in isolation, out of context, they may be ambiguous in two or three ways when translated into a language like English.

If Kanuri has no adjectives, then the fact that Kanuri has no premodifier position may be explained. The exigency that the modifier role is defined by its position ordered after the head noun, and not by its lexical category would perhaps have evolved because of the lack of the lexical category *adjective*. This strict ordering of head noun and modifier thus obviates the possibility of any ambiguity when two nouns are juxtaposed, as in e.g. bàrèmá lètə̀mádə́ *the farmer who is a traveler* and lètə̀má bàrèmádə́ *the traveler who is a farmer*.

The problem of interpretation does not occur when the modifier is a verbal sentence. The occurrence of the finite verb form makes the sentential, relative clause reading the only possible interpretation. When nonverbal equational and descriptive predicates of identification occur as modifiers, Kanuri may have no overt syntactic sign distinguishing the simple modifier reading from the more restrictive modifier clause reading. Thus the noun phrase kâm kúrà may in certain environments be interpretable as *a big/important person* and elsewhere as *a person who is big/important*. Here the structure of the noun phrase is again identical to the structure of the sentence, whether the sentence be verbal or a predicate of identification.

Féròndé kúrà.	*Our daughter is big/important.*
féròndé kúrà ...	*our big/important daughter ...*
féròndé kúrà(də́) ...	*our daughter that is big/important ...*
Féròndé bàrèmá.	*Our daughter is a farmer.*
féròndé bàrèmá ...	*our farmer daughter/daughter the farmer*
féròndé bàrèmá(də́)	*our daughter that is a farmer ...*

The difference between *our big daughter* and *our daughter that is big* is a subtle semantic difference which may be made overtly in Kanuri through the use of a determiner element. In English, "modification at its *most restrictive* tends to come after the head: that is, our decision to use an item as a premodifier (such as *silly* in *The silly boy got lost*) often reflects our wish that it be taken for granted and not be interpreted as a specific identifier. Secondly, restrictive modification tends to be given more prosodic emphasis than the head; non-restrictive modification, on the other hand, tends to be unstressed in pre-head position, while in post-head position, its *parenthetic* relation is endorsed by being given a separate tone unit ..., or - in writing - by being enclosed in commas." (Quirk and Greenbaum, 1975:377).

Like English, Kanuri may also separate a postmodifying adjectival noun or other predicate parenthetically, as an appositive afterthought modifier, commonly referred to as the non-restrictive relative clause. Such constructions are examined in detail in ch. 23. Also like English, Kanuri may use prosodic emphasis to make a postmodifying element more restrictive, thus distinguishing it from its less restrictive unstressed counterpart, also in the postmodifying position. Other ways of making a modifier clause more restrictive are discussed below. It is clear that with only the postmodifying position, the Kanuri noun phrase makes all of the distinctions with regard to restrictive and non-restrictive modification that are possible in a language like English, which has both modifier positions.

2.2. Pronouns and Determiners in Restrictive Modification. In the case of nonverbal modifiers, restrictive modification may be indicated through the stressing of the nonverbal modifier. With both verbal and nonverbal modifiers, more restrictive modification may as well be indicated through either 1) manifestation of a pronoun copy of the head noun within the modifying clause, or 2) use of certain elements in the determiner area, or both. Stress is indicated in the following examples by underlining.

féròndé kúrà	*our big/important/eldest daughter*
féròndé kúràdə́	*that big etc. daughter of ours*
féròndé kúrà	*our big daughter/daughter that is big*
féròndé kúràdə́	*our daughter that is big etc.*
féròndé shí kúràdə́	*our daughter that is big etc.*

The emphatic adjunct +má may also be applied to the modifier, immediately preceding the determiner. It has an even more restrictive effect, clearly singling out the head noun for having the attribute described by the modifier.

féròndé kúràmádə́	*our daughter (the one) that is big etc.*
féròndé shí kúràmádə́	*our daughter (the one) that is big etc.*

The verbal counterparts of such modifier clauses will be discussed in detail in chapter 23.

The role of the determiner element +də́ in Kanuri, is one that would warrant an entire separate volume. An inkling of its importances emerges already from examples like the above. It is basically the suffixed form of a Kanuri demonstrative which carries a very great functional load in the nominal system of the language. It has context and discourse specific semantic roles as well as syntactic roles. Some of its functions are elaborated in chapters 21, 23 and 26. As will be seen, it can be used for reference purposes, having an entire NP within its syntactic scope to identify and mark that noun phrase as a resumptive topic, i.e. as *the aforementioned.* In that role it can mark any kind of NP, even for example a proper noun with a unique referent, or even a pronoun. In the utterance context therefore the referent is both definite and specific for speaker and hearer. It has been observed that +də́ is closely related to the demonstratives, and is in fact a formative of the singular forms of the demonstratives. In use, it differs from them only in that a noun phrase which it marks is not normally physically indicated or shown, but rather only anaphorically referred to. The singular demonstratives ádə̀ and túdù, though basically physical demonstratives, may also perform the anaphoric function. +də́ has no plural form and thus number agreement with the head noun is never carried out. In the use of the other demonstratives, number agreement with the head noun is optional when the head noun is plural, obligatory when the head noun is singular.

Elsewhere, +də́ may be used deictically, again for identification purposes, to particularize a NP or any other structure as an identified topic, marking it as definite and given, though not necessarily as a resumptive topic. Thus the referent in this use may be either specific or generic, but must be definite. +də́ establishes the NP as a recognized definite topic, which the speaker in the utterance context assumes to be common and recognizable for both speaker and hearer, subsequently followed by the comment with regard to it. It is therefore anaphoric in that it is common to both speaker and hearer, deictic in the sense that it is not discourse dependent.

That this same determiner element is used to mark both anaphoric and deictic relative clause constructions is therefore not surprising. It is the role of the demonstrative to set off and single out or unmistakably identify a given noun phrase; it is the role of the restrictive relative clause to specify its noun antecedent, restrict it, singling it out from the other members of the same class of nouns.

3. The Relation of the Head Noun to the Modifier (Relative) Clause. The nouns of any language can be divided into semantic classes according to specificity. The spectrum would range from the most generic of referents at one end, to the most specific of referents at the other. These classes or groupings of nouns can be shown to be relevant to the structure of the complex noun phrase, and the notions of restrictive vs. non-restrictive modification of the head noun. Modification is restrictive when "the head can be viewed as a member of a class which can be linguistically identified only through the modification that has been supplied." (Quirk and Greenbaum, 1975:376) This would explain why restrictive relative clauses are rarely used to identify nouns from classes at the more specific end of the semantic spectrum. Restrictive modification is required for nouns from the more generic end of the spectrum. In non-restrictive modification, "the head can be viewed as unique or as a member of a class that has been independently identified (for example, in a preceding sentence); any modification given to such a head is additional information which is not essential for identifying the head ..." (Quirk and Greenbaum, 1975:376). Non-restrictive modification in Kanuri may thus involve a head noun from the more specific end of the semantic spectrum, and may have a unique referent. There the modifier clause is not restrictively identifying the head noun since it carries its own restrictive identity. The opposite is true in restrictive modification, since the head noun is more generic.

CHAPTER 20: MODIFIER TYPES IN THE NOUN PHRASE

1. Introduction. As described in the preceding chapter, the Kanuri noun phrase is formed through the juxtaposition of constituents. The initial constituent of the noun phrase is always the head noun. Following the head noun is the juxtaposed modifier, whether it be a simple modifier, e.g. a noun or a postpositional phrase, or a complex modifier, i.e. a sentence. It will be the purpose of this chapter to describe all of the possible syntactic structures which may occur in the role of modifier in the simple noun phrase. Complex noun phrases in which the modifier position is filled with a juxtaposed sentence, will be examined in detail in chapter 17.

In chapter 17, juxtapositional nonverbal predicates of identification, etc. were described. It will be seen here that many of those juxtaposed predicates are identical with constituents juxtaposed as modifiers in the simple noun phrase. The major groupings of modifier types to be described here are: 1) nominal modifiers, including adjectival nouns and nouns, 2) postpositional phrases as modifiers, and 3) modifier types 1 and 2 in conjoined noun phrase structures.

It is not the purpose of the present chapter to deal with the determiner elements in the noun phrase. The various constituents functioning as determiners, such as the noun phrase status marker +də́, are dealt with in detail in the following chapter 21. Nevertheless, the determiner elements will occur frequently in post-modifier position in the modifier examples cited here.

2. Adjectival Nouns as Modifiers. Simple noun phrases in which a head noun is modified by an adjectival noun are perhaps the most frequently occurring of the language. The structure involved in such noun phrases may be basically represented schematically as: *NP = N AN*. Noun phrases of this type have occurred in examples prior to this point in the book. They are extremely simple to form and produce, and thus only a few examples are presented here. When cardinal numbers also occur as modifiers in such noun phrases they obligatorily follow the adjectival noun.

Kúngə́nà bə̀lîn sùlúwúnà.	*(The) New money has come out/been released.*
Férò sháwà rúkə́nà.	*I saw a beautiful girl.*
Kâm kúrà láá ísə́nà.	*Some big/old/important person has arrived.*
Âm wùràwá bâ.	*There are no old/important people.*
Tádà gàná fálmá rúkə̀nyí.	*I didn't see even one small child.*
Kâm gàdé mbéjí.	*There is another person.*
Kə̀rámìnyí dóndìrò kùrwûn mângìn.	*I am looking for medicine for my sick younger brother/sister.*
Shí kâm zâurò ngə́là.	*S/He is a very good person.*
Fânnzá fátò kúrà.	*Their house is a big house.*
Kâm ádə̀ tádà díwìà.	*This person has a bad child/son.*
Kàsúwù kúràrò lèwónò.	*S/He went to the central market.*
Âlì kâm gàná.	*Ali is a small/unimportant person.*

2.1. Repeated Adjectival Nouns as Modifiers. For reasons of emphasis and also to express plurality in certain semantic environments, a modifying adjectival noun may be repeated after a head noun. As is apparent in certain of the following examples, this may occur to express plurality either with the singular or the derived plural form of the head noun. The marker of the collective plural +sò (presented on page 208 as a determiner element) may be added to noun phrases of this type, as shown below. The repeated adjectival noun may also function to intensify the adjectival meaning in certain cases. The intensification of adjectival meanings is however more frequently carried out by ideophones (see appendix 7 (p. 347)).

âm wúrà wúrà	*very important people*
bə́rì jílì jílì	*all kinds of food*
jílì kə̀skábè gàdé gàdé ngə́wù	*many different kinds of trees*
àwó gàdé gàdé ngə́wù	*many different things*
jílì gàdé gàdé ngə́wù	*many different kinds*
kâu kùrúwù kùrúwù	*high high mountains*
Nânzə̂n kàwúdì ngə́là ngə́là mbéjí.	*At his place there is (lots of) very good perfume.*
Dìwàlwá kúrà kúrà kàsúwù Yêrwàbèrò ísə́nà mbézái.	*There are big/important roads that lead to the Yerwa market.*
Kùngə̀nàwá shûbè sàndí gàdé gàdé úwùlàn wújìr tə̀dîn.	*Business will be carried out with these five different kinds of coins.*
Kúngə́nà dúngùr dúngùr ányì yé sàndímá.	*These rough-edged coins are they (the very ones).*
âm wúrà wúràsò	*all the very important people*

The repetition of numbers after monetary units is used to connote the notion of *price per/each*.

súlè úwù úwù	*five shillings each*
nâirà fál fál	*one naira each*

3. **Nouns as Modifiers**. There are a variety of ways in which both lexical and derived nouns function in the modifier position, to describe a preceding head noun. The closeness of the relation between the head noun and the modifier clearly varies, depending on the type of head noun and the type of modifier noun. In general it may be observed that when the head noun is more generic than the modifier noun, that the modification is more restrictive; when that order is reversed, the modification may be less restrictive and more appositive and apparently redundant.

sáwànyí mâinàdə́	*my friend maina (son of the king)*
sáwànyí yé àmânnyí yé Tìjánìrò sàlâm ...	*greetings to my friend and trusted confidant Tijani*
féròndé bàrèmá	*our daughter the farmer*
féròndé súrómà	*our daughter the midwife*
kâm kámânyí	*my fellow person/my counterpart/peer*
Kànúrì kámânyí láá	*a certain one of my fellow Kanuris*
Tádà kámânzə́à kójìnbâ.	*S/He won't surpass his fellow child.*
kâm fə̀rmá	*a person owning a horse*
kâm ngə́làmà	*a good person*
kâm tàrwàmá	*a jealous person*
sû kə́ryèndébè Nìjérìyàdə́	*the name of our country this Nigeria*
shí kálmà nâiràdə́	*that the word naira*
sáwà kàkkê	*my friend*
kúngə́nà Ìngə̀làmàrâmdə́	*money that is of England*
Álì kə̀lânzə́də́	*Ali himself*
shí kə̀lânzə́də́	*he himself*
kwâ fàtòmá	*head of the household*
kwâ kámúmà	*man with a wife*
kâm kə́mbù	*blind person*
âm kə̀mbùwá	*blind people*
kùwûi bî	*male chicken/rooster*
kùwûi kùrkúrì	*female chicken/hen*
dàló bə̀lân	*strong full-grown bull*

Mâi Màdzínàmà	*king of Machina*
Mâi Bə́rnyímà	*king of Birnin Gazargamu*

In the following examples, a head noun is modified essentially by a verb phrase which occurs in the expected OV order, the verb occurring as a verbal noun in a derived nominal noun of agency formed through the suffixation of +ma as introduced on page 56. In each case the verbal noun retains its verbal function within the modifying clause, even though they are nonfinite verb forms within derived nominals. Nominal and oblique constituents which precede them in these constructions are therefore not adjectival modifiers, but rather are there to satisfy the SOV order of Kanuri.

Kâm súnó wárátàbè jètəmádə́ ngə́wùrò shî dêà fómzònò.	*The man who waits to inherit a pair of shoes will go barefoot for a long time.*
Kâm súwàrò lètəmádə́, yîm láân sàrâm cèjîn.	*The person who goes regularly to the well will one day break the water jar.*
Nàsárà ílmù kàmùwábè kùrùmádə́ shímá sàndírò kôs ádəà sədô.	*The European who is the overseer of women's education, S/HE gave them this course.*
Dàlîl kàsúwùbèdə́, nâ kâm àwó njìwòmá-à làdòmá-à sàptâidəmá.	*The reason for the market, its a place where buyers and sellers gather.*
Kâm gàdé sàndírò kùdòmá yé báwò, wûn kàjíyà.	*There's no other person to bring it to them, except for me.*
hówùm lámàr kúngənà bəlînrò fàltə́gə́bè tàrtìptəmádə́	*the committee in charge of the affair of the change over to the new money*

4. The Past Participle as a Modifier. As introduced on page 163, the nonfinite past participle is a verb form which exists only for class 2 verbs. The past participle may stand alone as the independent predicate of a nonverbal sentence, or as a modifier following a lexical noun or NP, as in the following examples.

Kâm bòwátàdə́ sáwànyí.	*The person lying down is my friend.*
Shí kâm zâurò nòwátà.	*S/He is a very well known person.*
Àwó kâm kúrà nápkàtàyè súrìndə́, tádà gàná dàátàmáyè súrìnbâ.	*What the seated adult sees, the young child cannot see even if he is standing up.*
Tádà fáàtàdə́ kàánzə̀.	*The child that is awake is hers/his.*

Though there is no comparable form for the class 1 verb, similar notions can be expressed with class 1 verbs through the use of a finite verb form in the perfect aspect. As stative modifiers, these finite verb forms will be in the basic nonderived form for intransitive verbs and in the III passive-reflexive form for transitive verbs. In this role they constitute sentential modifiers or relative clauses (see ch. 23).

5. Postpositional Phrases as Modifiers. The postpositions which most productively occur in postpositional phrases that modify head nouns are: the genitive postposition +bè, the locative postposition +(là+)n, the associative postposition +(C+)à, and the *like* postposition +gâi. These modifier types will be examined individually in this section.

5.1. Genitive Postpositional Phrases as Modifiers. The normal order of a NP with a modifying genitive postposition phrase is head noun, followed by genitive postpositional phrase. For semantic reasons however, the order of the genitive NP may be altered so that the modifying genitive PP precedes the head noun. This is perhaps the only case of a NP where the modifier regularly precedes the head noun. This order change is frequently accompanied by the application of the corresponding possessive pronoun suffix to the following head noun, thus: NP_x NP_y+bè *y's x* becomes NP_y+bè NP_x+POS_y *literally: of y his x.*

fə̂r Álìbè	*Ali's horse*
Álìbè fə̂rnzə́	*ALI's horse*

The latter of the above two forms would be used to emphasize the possessor rather than the possessed head noun, as shown by the capital letters. In some cases the possessive may be added to the head noun even when the NP elements are in the head noun-modifier order.

fə̂rnzə́ Álìbè	*Ali's horse*
shînzə́ Músàbè	*Musa's leg/foot*

For a description of the pronunciation of the genitive postposition see page 177. The role of the genitive PP in the formation of adverbial phrases of location, etc. is discussed on pages 258-9.

When genitive PPs are stacked within a given NP then the final modifier phrase is marked by only one occurrence of the genitive postposition, as in the first example below. Both of the genitive postpositions in such a stacked NP will be indicated however in the event that a determiner element intervenes between the two, as in the second example below.

fótò bánkì kúrà Nìjéríyàbè	*the photo of the central Bank of Nigeria*
fótò bánkì kúrà Nigéríyàbè Ìkkóbèdə́bè	*the photo of that central Bank of Nigeria of Lagos*

The genitive PP may be used for description and to express possession in the modifier position, as shown in the following examples.

Cídà lìítàbèdə́ búnémân dàjînbâ.	*The work of the doctor is not finished even at night.*
sâ kúlò bárèbè	*the time of farming of the field*
kəryèndé Nìjéríyàbè ádə̀	*this our country Nigeria*
kə́ryè Nìjéríyàbè ádə̀	*this country Nigeria*
gàrgâm jílì kúngə́nàbè fàltə́bèdə́	*the history of changing money systems*
kwânà ádə̀bè rúwò ngə́lànzə́də́	*the beautiful writing of THIS GUY*
Lâi múskò kə̀mbùrámbèdə́ góné.	*Take the path to your left.*
Fótó kə̀mbùrámbèn də́ríné.	*Go around to the right side.*
nâ yàkkə̀rámbèrò nágə́míà	*when you reach the 3-branched fork*
kə́rmù àbánzə́bè	*his father's death*
kə́rà Kànùríbè	*the study of Kanuri (language)*
bàrà kàshíngòbè	*hunting of the cameleon*
fə̂r ádə̀bè nə̀msháwànzə́də́	*the beauty of THAT HORSE*
kâm Yə̂rwàbè	*a person of/from Yerwa*
kə̀mbû âm nâdə́bèdə́	*the food of the people of that place*

When dealing with the names of ethnic groups, the derived language and modifier form of the group (see page 64) with the $L_o H$ tone pattern may be freely substituted for the genitive PP, as in the following examples.

kùrwûn Kànúrìbè	*the medicine of the Kanuri*
kùrwûn Kànùrí	*Kanuri medicine*
kárè Shùwábè	*the things/implements of the Shuwa*
kárè Shùwàshùwá	*the typically Shuwa things/implements*
kàiyàwá Àfùnòwábè-à Màngàwábè-à	*the songs of the Hausas and the Mangas*
kàiyàwá Àfùnòàfùnó-à Màngàmàngá-à	*Hausa and Manga songs*

5.1.1. Genitive Ordering in Expressing Family Relationships, etc. In expressing kinship relationships there is a definite tendency to prefer the basic genitive ordering of head-modifier, but the head noun is normally marked by the possessive pronoun suffix. The basic order without the possessive is rarely produced. The possible forms are presented here in their order of frequency.

yânzə́ Álìbè	*Ali's mother*
Álìbè yânzə́	*Ali's mother*
?yâ Álìbè	

kúlò yânzə́ Álìbè	*Ali's mother's field*
Álìbè yânzə́bè kúlònzə́	*ALI's mother's field*
?kúlò yâ Álìbè	
*kúlò yânzə́ Álìbèbè	
*kúlò Álìbè yânzə́bè	
*kúlò yâ Álìbèbè	

When the genitive PP is being used for description and not for a kinship relationship or possession, then the basic order is the only acceptable one.

kə̀ská kánnúbè	*firewood*
béwò kə̀ská kánnúbè	*axe for (chopping) firewood*

5.1.2. Genitive PPs in (Partitive) Expressions of Quantity. In partitive expressions, the NP order with the preposed genitive PP is often preferred over the basic form, though both are acceptable and heard. When the genitive PP is preposed, the possessive pronoun suffix is required, as shown below.

fàlí górò ádə̀bè	*a section of this kola nut*
górò ádə̀bè fàlínzə́	*a section of this kola nut*
shí ádə̀bè fàlínzə́	*a section of this one*
fə̀rwá ányìbè fálnzá	*one of these horses*
ngə́nə́wùnzə́bè gànánzə́də́	*the least of his trouble*
âm ányìbè sámmánzásò	*all of these people*
âm ányìbè láánzá	*some of these people*
cídà ádə̀bè ngə́wùnzə́	*most of this work*

5.2. Locative/Means PPs as Modifiers. The locative/means postposition +(là+)n (introduced on page 176) may mark modifiers for their role as modifiers of place or means. As modifiers, these postpositional phrases may only follow the head noun and never precede it.

kâm kàsúwùlàn	*a/the person (who is) in the market*
kâm fə̂rlàn	*a/the person (who is) on horseback*
kâm fânnzə̂n	*a/the person at home*

5.3. Associative PPs as Modifiers. On pp. 169-71, the role of the associative postposition as a predicate of existence was described in a variety of contexts, and the variety of its meanings was explained. In the modifier position, associative PPs are shown here to have not only the earlier described uses and meanings, but a number of others as well. Here again, the modifying associative PP must always follow the head noun, and may never precede it, as shown below.

tádà kə̀nâà	*a hungry child*
làshá hêrrà	*a peaceful evening meal*
shíllówù ngáwúréà	*a shooting star (star with a tail)*
nâ njî dùrò kə̀skêà	*a place with light rain*
kâm kámúnzə́ dégə́sò kúngə́nàà	*a man all 4 of whose wives have money*
màará súrôn âmmà	*a plane with people in it*
kâm yâà	*a person with a mother*
fátò dââlàn	*in a house that has meat*
kâm kə̀lân búdúà	*a man with grass on his head*
jánà tímìà	*a sharp knife (knife with teeth)*
bə́là ngîm míyàà	*a village of 100 huts*
shî ìndíà	*2-footed*

shî dêà	*bare-footed*
kádí ngáwúré kùrúwùàdə́	*the snake with the long tail*

In the following examples observe such associative modified NPs in complete sentences.

Kə́rì nâ shílààbè.	*The dog belongs to the place with bones.*
Búltùdə́ nâ túnóà nòzə̂nyí.	*The hyena does not recognize the place with a wound.*
Díyél bə́rmə́tə̀àdə́ kə̀mânzə́ nòzə̂.	*The owner of the bed with fleas in it knows it.*
Ngáwòdə́má nânzə́ ínjìnnà wò.	*It's the back that is the place with the engine (of a VW Beetle).*
Nâ tə̀màmáàlàn tígə̀nə́m gámbə̀mbâ.	*One doesn't scratch oneself when around an expectant person (e.g. beggar).*
Ngô shí, kâm súró zàujînnàdə́.	*There s/he is, the person with the aching stomach.*

When the associative postposition is applied within the NP to the negative predicate of existence bâ *there is/are not*, the meaning of the modifying PP phrase becomes *without, not having*.

kâm kə̀nâà bâàdə́	*the man without hunger (well off)*
kâm àwó bâàdə́	*the man who has nothing*
shí bâàdə́	*the one without any*
bə́rì núwànə́m bâàdə́	*the meal in which you have no share*

5.3.1. Associative PPs as Modifiers of Counting and Measuring. The structure of the NPs presented here is identical to that of the NPs in the preceding section. Here however, the head noun is a number or a counted noun describing money, telling time, or a measured quantity. The associative marked modifier is a number of units which exists in addition to the head noun. Thus the head noun is used here to describe whole measurable units, and the modifier phrase to describe fractions or additional uneven parts of whole units.

nâirà fál kówò fyúwùà	*1 naira and 50 kobo*
nâirà úwù súlè ìndíà	*5 naira and 2 shillings*
fâm ìndí súlè súlè mèwûn wùskûnnà	*2 pounds and 12 shillings*
sâ mèwú míntì mèwûn wùskûnnà	*10:18*
sâ mèwú rétàà	*10:30*
áwà fál rétàà	*an hour and a half*
sâ dégə́ **kwátàà**	*4:15*
súlè ìndí shíshìà	*2 shillings and a sixpence*
súlè-à shíshì-à	*a shilling and a sixpence*
súlè-à tórò-à	*a shilling and a threepence*
tóròà shîn kówòà	*a threepence (it) and a kobo*

In a marketing situation, this same structure is used to express the notion of *worth*, in measuring piled quantities of produce, etc. As a modifier, the associative PP describes the worth of the measured quantity, which is the head noun antecedent.

súlèà	*a shilling's worth*
Ádə súlèà	*This is a shilling's worth.*
Ádə kə́rtə̀ súlè ndàwúà?	*How many shilling's is this pile worth?*
kə́rtə súlèà	*a 1 shilling pile*
kə́rtə súlè ìndíà	*a 2 shilling pile*
súlè júwú nâirà fállà	*a naira's worth of shilling change*
súlè mèwúàdə́	*10 shilling/1 naira note's worth*

It should be noted here that with the genitive +bè, kə́rtə̀ súlè ìndíbè would mean literally *2 shilling coins in a pile*. With the associative, on the other hand, kə́rtə̀ súlè ìndíà means *a 2 shilling's worth pile*. One can however use the genitive to connote *worth* if the number is repeated, as in: kə́rtə̀ súlè ìndí ìndíbè.

5.3.2. Associative PPs in *someone else* Constructions. Here, in the modifier position, the object of the associative phrase is always one of the generic human nouns: kâm *person* or âm *people*. The resulting PP has a genitive-like meaning, and refers to something that either belongs to another person, or is an inalienable body part, in the generic sense, belonging to all people. Thus inside of the NP, the associative predicates a person or people to be co-existing with the head noun, and thus the implication that the head noun has a person associated with it, i.e. belongs to or is part of someone.

fátò kâmmà	*someone's/someone else's house*
shîm kâmmàlàn	*in the presence of others/in someone else's eyes*

Because of the generic sense and application of such associative PPs, they occur frequently in the context of the Kanuri proverb.

Shîm kâmmàdə́, kàzáàà.	*Other people's eyes, they have spears.*
Múskò kâmmàyè nâ ràámmà zə̀gámbìnbâ.	*Another person's/someone else's hand never scratches the place you want.*

If the head noun does not occur, then the associative PP may take on the function of the entire NP.

kâmmà/âmmà	*someone else's/other people's*
Kâmmà ngə́wùrò mànànə́mìn.	*You talk a lot about other people.*
Ádə̀ kâmmà.	*That belongs to someone/some other people.*

5.3.3. Associative PPs as Constituents in Conjoined NPs. A conjoined NP may be formed through the marking of each of the conjoined NP constituents with the associative postposition. In such NPs there is no head noun-modifier relationship since all are associative-marked and therefore equal co-existence is implied. This is indicated by a hyphen according to the SKO.

Módù-à Kàshîm-à kàsúwùrò lèyádà.	*Modu and Kashim went to the market.*
Álì-à Shèttímà-à rókkó lèzâi.	*Ali and Shettima will go together.*
Mátòlàn lètə́-à màarálàn lètə́-à gàdé.	*Traveling by car and traveling by plane are quite different.*

Two or more members of an associative-conjoined series may occur together with a plural verb form in the III passive-reflexive derivation. Thus in the following examples, the structure involves the conjoined subjects of an intransitive proposition, even though the meanings are reciprocal. If one of the NPs is a pronoun, it is normally omitted.

Músà-à Fántà-à lèfàtánà.	*Musa and Fanta greeted each other.*
Músà-à túrúiyénà.	*Musa and I saw each other./We and Musa saw each other.*
Bálì túrúiyèn.	*We will see each other tomorrow.*

In verbless environments, the conjoined NPs may be used to express relationships of similarity and difference between two NPs.

Kàánzə̀-à kàkkê-à gàdègàdé.	*His/Hers and mine are different.*

5.3.4. Associative PPs in NPs Expressing Direction. These are idiomatic NPs involving the occurrence of the head noun *head* followed by a locative

PP which is marked by the associative postposition. The noun in such modifier phrases is normally a place noun, and the implication is one of movement *to* or *toward*. Some speakers apply the associative twice in such constructions, once to the place noun, and again to the locative postposition.

Kə̀lâ ndânnà?	*Where are you heading?/Where to?*
kə̀lâ sámì(à)nnà	*upwards/towards the sky*
kə̀lâ kə̀mbùrámmìnnà	*to the right/rightwards*
Kə̀lâ kàsúwù(à)nnà lèngîn.	*I am going toward the market.*

The nouns sə́dí and cídí which both mean *earth, ground* have each derived accreted noun forms through the affixation of the associative. Therefore the nouns sə́díà and cídíà have come to mean *bottom, underneath.*

kə̀lâ sə́díà(à)nnà kə̀lâ cídíà(à)nnà	*downwards/toward the bcttom*

The directionality implied by this construction type may also be applied temporally, connoting direction in time.

súwàn tái kə̀lâ fúwùnnàsó	*from morning onwards*

5.4. *like* +gǎi PPs as Modifiers. The postposition +gǎi is used to form PPs expressing likeness, similarity, or approximation. Such PPs may fill the modifier position following a head noun.

kâm shígǎi	*a person like him/her*
kâm Álìgǎi	*a person like Ali*
kə́rwù mèwúgǎi	*about 10 years*
Nâ mîl fállàgǎirò lèwónò.	*S/He went to a place about 10 miles away.*
kû kàwú àràkkə́gǎi	*about 6 days from today*
Kàwú ndáwùgǎi?	*About how many days?*
fútù ádə̀gǎilàn	*in a way like this (way)*
kǎusù bêbègǎi	*heat like that of the hot season*

Sentential modifiers may also be marked by this postposition.

Hàlàmá lèjîngǎi fə́lézə́nà.	*He pretended to go./He showed an appearance like he was going.*
Fátòbè yé jílì gàdègàdé ngə́wù mbézái, kàráàn dàwúnàdə́gǎi.	*Of houses too there are many different kinds, like those that are in the bush.*

This postposition may be used to list modifying PPs after an expressed or understood head noun.

Àrgə̂mgǎi, ngàwúlìgǎidə́, césàlàn tə̀nàtîn.	*(Crops)like millet and guinea corn are planted in the sand.*

6. Cardinal and Ordinal Numbers as Modifiers. Both the cardinal and the ordinal numbers (see page 76) may be used as head noun modifiers, or independently as pronouns of number when the head noun is understood in the context, as in: Ìndídə̂ kàkkê. *The two/two of them are mine.* and Kə́nándímìdə̂ kàkkê. *The second one is mine.* When plural numbers function as modifiers, the preceding head noun may either be in the singular or the plural form. The number tìló *one* is today normally preferred over fál in counting environments, though fál is also sometimes used to count. As a modifier, fál is preferred over tìló, as in kâm fál *one person.*

In order to separate tens from units, lúkkò may occur between the tens figure and the ones figure for any number above 10 for which the ones integer position is also occupied, thus e.g. 11-19, 21-29, etc. The use of lúkkò may be required to clarify particularly long numbers, or it may be used simply to emphasize a number, and preferred over the shorter form in emphatic environments. When lúkkò is used, both the tens figure and the units figure must be marked with the postposition +ǹ. Therefore mèwú tùlùrí *17*, may also be expressed mèwûn lúkkò túlùrrìn *17*.

tìló	*1*
fál	*1*
ìndí	*2*
yàkkə́/yàskə́	*3*
dégə́/déwú	*4*
úwù	*5*
àràkkə́/àràskə́	*6*
túlùr	*7*
wùskú	*8*
ləgár	*9*
mèwú	*10*
mèwûn (lúkkò) tìlôn	*11*
mèwûn (lúkkò) ìndîn	*12*
mèwûn (lúkkò) yàkkə̂n	*13*
(mèwú) dèrí	*14*
mèwûn lúkkò déwûn	*14*
(mèwú) ùwùrí	*15*
mèwûn lúkkò úwùn	*15*
mèwûn (lúkkò) àràkkə̂n	*16*
(mèwú) tùlùrí	*17*
mèwûn (lúkkò) túlùrrìn	*17*
mèwûn (lúkkò) wùskûn	*18*
(mèwú) lə̀gàrí	*19*
mèwûn (lúkkò) lə̀gárrìn	*19*
fíndì	*20*
fyâkkə̀/fyâskə̀	*30*
fídə̀gə̀	*40*
fyúwù	*50*
fíràkkə̀/fíràskə̀	*60*
fítùlùr	*70*
fyúskù/fískù	*80*
fílə̀gàr	*90*
mìyâ/yêr fál/tìló	*100*

mìyân (lúkkò) tìlôn	*101*
mìyân fyâkkə̀n	*130*
yêr ìndí	*200*
yêr ìndîn fyúwùn	*250*
yêr yàkkə́	*300*
yêr yàkkə̂n fyâkkə̀n (lúkkò) yàkkə̂n	*333*
yêr dégə́/déwú	*400*
yêr úwù	*500*
yêr úwùn (lúkkŏ) úwùn	*505*
yêr àràkkə́/àràskə́	*600*
yêr àràkkə̂n fíràkkə̀n	*660*
yêr túlùr	*700*
yêr túlùrrìn (lúkkò) túlùrrìn	*707*
yêr wùskú	*800*
yêr wùskûn fyúskùn	*880*
yêr lə̀gâr	*900*
yêr lègárrìn fílə̀gàrrìn (lúkkò) lə̀gárrìn	*999*
də́wú	*1000*
də́wûn yêr úwùn fíndìn (lúkkò) tìlôn	*1521*
də́wú ìndí	*2000*
də́wú yàkkə́/yàskə́	*3000*
də́wú dégə́/déwú	*4000*
də́wú àràkkə́/àràskə́	*6000*
də́wú túlùr	*7000*
də́wú túlùrrìn yêr lə̀gárrìn	*7900*
də́wú wùskú	*8000*
də́wú lə̀gár	*9000*
də́wú mèwú	*10000*
də́wú mèwûn lúkkò ìndîn	*10002*

In general, it can be stated that the cardinal numbers normally follow all other modifiers, except for the determiners and the postdeterminers. They share this position with other modifiers expressing quantity. Exceptions occur.

sàndúwù kùrwówù yàkkə́	*three heavy trunks*
àwó gàdègàdé ngə́wù	*many different things*
àwó gàdègàdé yàkkə́	*three different things*
Ámmà fâidà njîbè ngə́wù gàdé mbéjí.	*But/However there are many other uses of water.*
Ámmà fâidà njîbè gàdé ngə́wù mbéjí.	*But/However there are many other uses of water.*
Jílì gàdègàdé yàkkə́ nòngə́nà.	*I know three different kinds.*
Fàtòwá kúrà yé sháwà yé yàkkə́ shírò yíkə́nà.	*I gave him three big and beautiful houses.*

6.1. Using the Cardinal Numbers to Tell Time. In telling time, the cardinal numbers are used attributively to modify the head noun sâ meaning *time, hour*. In using the numbers to tell time (as well as in the money system), the associative postposition is introduced to connote *plus, with*, in marking fractions or parts of whole units (as described in

5.3.1 above).

Sâ ndàwú?	*What time is it?*
Sâ úwù.	*It is 5:00.*
Sâ úwù míntì úwùà.	*It is 5 minutes after 5:00.*
Sâ àràkkə́ kwátàà.	*It is a quarter past 6:00.*
Sâ mèwûn ìndîn rétàà.	*It is half past 12:00.*
Sâ mèwûn míntì fyâkkəà.	*It is 10:30.*

From the half hour on to the next full hour the time may be expressed by subtracting from the next full hour by using the negative predicate of existence bâ *there is/are not*. In this environment the associative postposition is not required. The indirect postposition +rò may follow the hour.

Sâ úwù(rò) míntì fíndì bâ.	*It is 20 minutes to 5:00.*
Sâ ìndí(rò) kwátà bâ.	*It is quarter to 2:00.*
Sâ úwù(rò) míntì fíndì ùwùrí bâ/ fíndìn (lúkkò) úwùn bâ.	*It is 25 minutes to 5:00.*

The remaining modifier elements are treated in subsequent chapters. The determiners and postdeterminer elements are treated in ch. 21. The role of the sentence as a modifier in relative clause constructions (as introduced in ch. 19) is treated in depth in chapter 23.

CHAPTER 21: THE DETERMINERS OF THE NOUN PHRASE

1. Introduction. Determiners are the elements within the NP which identify it, regardless of how it has been modified by attributive modifiers of the type described in ch. 20. This identification of the NP entails the application (or non-application) of one of the determiner elements to classify the type of reference the NP makes, i.e. whether the referent is specific, unique, generic, definite/indefinite, visible, previously mentioned, etc. In short, determiners are one way in which languages indicate the cognitive status of the noun. As will be seen, some of the determiners introduced here also play a role in NP status marking (as described in ch. 25).

With regard to English, the most commonly cited determiner elements are the definite article (*the*), and the indefinite article (*a/an*). The elements presented in this chapter as the determiner elements of Kanuri often show little or no similarity to their counterparts in English and other languages with regard to distribution. Thus the student of Kanuri must try to gain a feel for the Kanuri determiner elements from their distribution and use in Kanuri, and not through the translation and application of them based on intuitions from other languages. As will be observed, it is often the case that the best determiner in Kanuri is no determiner - that the status of a given NP may be totally determined by head noun type plus the context in which it occurs, without the use of any overt determiner element.

One of the roles played by the determiner elements to be described in this chapter is the syntactic function of delimiting the final boundary of the NP constituent. In performing the above-cited semantic roles, this syntactic function is one that is crucial in the formation of the complex NP (see ch.23), sentential subjects and objects (see ch. 24), and also certain adverbial clause types (see pages 262-3 and pages 291-3). In these uses the determiner element +də̂ marks an entire sentence for its status as a NP. Elements singled out for their role as determiners in this chapter, regardless of whether they have other functions in the language or not, are those that may be used to determine e.g. a simple NP made up of a lexical head with or without attributive modifiers, when such a NP has not been moved for semantic reasons (status) and thus occurs in its typologically predicted position.

Elements discussed here for their role in the determination of NPs are: lắá *some/a certain*, +də̂, the demonstratives, +số *all*, wə̀số *each/every*, and +sò which marks a noun as a collective, generic plural. All of these elements occur in NP-final position in the determiner area. Also included here for their role as determiner elements are the suffixed forms of the possessive pronouns.

2. Indefinite Noun Phrases and the Use of lắá. Whether or not an indefinite NP is modified by a following indefinite lắá, is determined by semantic reasons. Occurring independently as a NP, lắá usually refers back to an understood nominal antecedent and often has a partitive interpretation, as shown below.

lắá	*one, a certain one, certain ones; some ... others; one ... the other; sometimes ... other times*
lắádə̂	*some of it/them; part of it/them*
lắánzắ	*some of them*
âm ắnyìbè lắánzắ	*some of these people*

As a modifier, lắá may attributively modify generic head nouns as in the following examples.

kâm láá	*someone, some person*
âm láá	*some people*
àwó láá	*something, some thing*
nâ láá	*somewhere, some place*
sâ láá	*sometime, at some time, once*
yîm láá	*some day, one day*

Although the cognitive semantic function of láá may sometimes lend itself to translation into English by the indefinite article *a/an*, it is best not equated. The Kanuri counterpart of the English indefinite article is best described as null Ø. The indefinite láá is more comparable to the English *some*, which similarly has both independent and modifying functions. Given its partitive interpretation in both its independent and modifying functions, láá is perhaps better classified as an attributive quantifier that occurs after the adjectives in the predeterminer quantifier position, rather than being classified as a determiner. This does not mean that will not lend itself to translation as an indefinite article at times.

In discourse, láá marking of a NP is indicative of the first mention of that NP in the utterance context. Thereafter, reference back to that initial occurrence of the NP may take the form of the same NP marked by the determiner +də̂, or as a pronoun with or without +də̂ as a status marker. After its conversation- or episode-initial occurrence, reference back to it cannot be made through the use of láá, only by +də̂. In this environment one could say that the distribution of láá marking a NP is complementary to that of the determiner +də̂ marking the same NP. Thus láá is used to mark a NP for its not having been already mentioned, and (as its partitive meaning might predict) to single out, specify, or mark a particular NP. Not every NP is marked with láá in its initial occurrence in the discourse context. To warrant this kind of indefinite specific reference, noun phrases particularized by láá must be of some degree of importance to the context (see Skinner, 1971:252-3). A rule of thumb that might be proposed is that a NP will be marked by láá if its importance to the context is such that it will occur subsequently in the context, either as a NP marked by +də̂, or as a pronoun, i.e. if its indefinite specific occurrence is to be followed by a definite specific occurrence. It is often used to introduce characters in a narrative.

The following examples represent some of the uses of indefinite láá.

Láá bə̂làbè, láá kàráàbè.	*Some are from the town, some from the bush.*
Bárè láá nâ césààlàn sànàtə bàrézài; kùrú bárè láá zə̂rgə̀ njî bòjînlàn sànàtə bàrézài.	*Some crops they plant and farm in a sandy place; and some crops they plant and farm in a low spot with idle water.*
Láánzáyè kâmmà sóríà cèsànîn.	*Some of them will kill a person when they see one.*
kâm láámá, àwó láámá	*so and so, such and such*
Tádà bə̀làdéyàbè zólì ángàl bâà láá kádìo.	*Some crazy stupid child from a village came.*

3. __+də́ and the Demonstratives as Determiners__. The determiner element is morphologically related to the demonstratives. It is clear in the following paradigm that the morpheme +də́ is a formative of both of the singular demonstratives.

	near speaker		*away from speaker*	
determiner	+də́	*the, that*	+də́	*the, those*
singular demonstrative	ádə̀	*this*	túdù	*that (there)*
plural demonstrative	ányì	*these*	túnyì	*those*

The formatives of the plural demonstratives are not readily apparent. túdù and túnyì are relatable to the nonverbal predicate túwò *over there* (see p. 167). The determiner +də́ and the demonstratives differ distributionally in that the latter may occur either independently as pronouns, or dependently as modifiers (see page 49) whereas +də́ occurs only dependently, as a determiner. As modifiers, the demonstratives are used to delimit the NP, and to indicate that the NP is deictic and visible, or has an anaphoric NP referent in some cases. Thus the demonstratives in their role as modifiers are here being analyzed as determiners.

Unlike the demonstratives, +də́ may not be used deictically to mark a NP that is visible or that has been perceived for the first time in the context. As a determiner, +də́ is used to mark a NP anaphorically as *the aforementioned.* It back-references within the discourse, and thus may mark any kind of NP as resumptive. In many of its uses as a determiner, +də́ may be translatable into English by the definite article. For +də́, its roles as determiner and NP status marker (see ch. 25) may sometimes overlap.

In its determiner role, the demonstrative ádə̀ is distinguishable from the other three demonstratives in that it may occur in all of the anaphoric environments in the place of +də́. Thus +də́ and ádə̀ form an anaphoric subset of the group of five demonstratives/determiners. They are further distinguished in that number agreement is not required in their anaphoric uses.

In nonanaphoric environments, ádə̀ joins túdù, ányì, and túnyì, the deictics. As such they function to point out visible things, and to indicate the physical location of a given NP.

Some of the uses of these determiner elements are represented in the following examples.

Àwòwá yàskə́ ányì fàné.	*Listen to these 3 things.*
Nádə́n shíà rúkə́nà.	*I saw him there.*
Ná ádə̀làn shíà rúkə́nà.	*I saw him there/here.*
Gùmnátìdə́yè cótrò kúngə́nàdə́ fàlzə́nà.	*The government changed the money completely.*
Kátè ádə̀làn bá.	*There is none around here (this area).*
Kúsùr fál lóng kátèdə́n.	*There is only one street around there.*
Am lárdə̀ ádə̀bè nòngə́nà.	*I know the people of this country.*
Àwòwá túnyì kàánzà.	*Those things there are theirs.*

4. **The Collective Plural Marker +sò.** The collective plural marker may be applied to both singular and plural nouns, either common or proper, to refer to the entire collective group of nouns of the class associated with the head noun. When applied to a person's name the resulting NP refers to that person and all of the friends or family that are characteristically associated with that person, as in the following example.

Álìsò kàsúwùlàn rúkə́nà.	*I saw Ali and friends in the market.*

It is often applied to the plural form of nouns referring to people or ethnic groups, especially in reference to traditional wisdom or opinions which are typical of that group. Thus the group is referred to generically.

Kànùrìwásò ngái sài.	*That is what the Kanuris say.*
Âmsòyè ngái gàdà.	*That is what people said.*

When it is applied to the singular form of a noun, reference may be to all of the things in that class or to collectively to things related to that class.

Fə̂rsò kàsúwùlàn rúkə́nà.	*I saw horses, etc. in the market.*
Bə́jìsò cúwúdò.	*He brought mats and all.*

For the use of the collective plural marker in the coordination of a series of NPs, see chapter 33.

5. **The Nonspecific Indefinite Determiners.** The determiners +só/sámmásó, wòsó, and yàyé are all inherently nonspecific and indefinite, referring to indefinite NPs, or to all-inclusive classes or groups of NPs whether the members be definite or indefinite.

The determiner +só is used in the formation of the indefinite pronouns from the interrogative pronouns, as was presented on page 52. It also plays a role in the formation of concessive adverbial clauses, as described in ch. 30. In other environments, when it is used to mark a pair of conjoined NPs its meaning will be *both*, and for a series of more than two NPs its meaning will be *all*. When it is applied to sámmá *all*, the meaning is more complete and all-inclusive.

Álìà Músààsó ísánà.	*Both Ali and Musa came.*
Âmnzə́ sámmásó lèzâi.	*All of his people are going.*
Fátò Álìbèà Músàbèàsó njîyè lə̀ksə́nà.	*The houses of both Ali and Musa were drenched by the rain.*
Àndí sámmásó lènyên.	*We are all going.*

The determiner wòsó means simply *each* or *every*, and always occurs in the same NP-final position.

Kâm wòsó lèfàjîn.	*He greets every person.*
Kâm lèzə́nà wòsó nòngə́nà.	*I know every person who went.*
Sâ ísə́nà wòsó shíà rúkə́nà.	*I saw him every time he came.*

The determiner element yàyé is treated as a NP status marker in ch.25, and is only presented here because of certain similarities it has with wòsó which are described below.

NPs marked by the determiner elements introduced here exhibit interesting ordering characteristics when further modified by associative postpositional phrases - both those containing NPs as well as those containing a verbal associative-subordinated clause. As observed on page 297, whatever is dominated by the associative postposition i.e. is within its scope, is asserted to exist in relation to a preceding NP. When it occurs as the subordinator of a verbal clause in the VEP, the interpretation can only be semantically nonspecific and indefinite referring to a precedent based (generic) predictable activity, or one that is presupposed or anticipated to happen in the foreseeable future. Since such verbal constituents (in the NP position with the associative postposition) are never interpretable as factive completed actions, they can never be marked in any way by the determiner +dŝ. This is not because they are not nominal, but rather because they are nonspecific and indefinite. Such associative-subordinated verbal clauses are, like associative-marked NPs, always relatable to a preceding NP, whether overt or not. Thus it is being suggested that a NP+determiner can be modified by sentence+ASSOC. Associative subordination of the VEP is often interpreted temporally either overtly with the head noun sâ *time* expressed, or with it simply being understood.

6. The Suffixed Possessive Pronouns as Determiners. The suffixed possessive pronouns may also be classed among the noun phrase determiners of the language. In much the same way as the determiner element +dŝ, the suffixed possessives function to definitize a given noun phrase, anaphorically referring back to its owner, a previously mentioned noun phrase that is therefore understood it the context of a given utterance. Similarly when the independent possessive pronouns are used in a modifier role they may be said to be performing this determinative function. For examples of the uses of both the independent and suffixed forms of the possessive pronouns see pages 47-9.

CHAPTER 22: SUBJECT AND OBJECT NOUN PHRASES: STATUS AND ORDER

1. Introduction. The term *major constituent* is used in reference only to verbal sentences to describe the major noun phrases of a sentence. In an intransitive sentence, the subject noun phrase is the only major constituent. A transitive sentence is normally characterized by two major constituents, i.e. a subject noun phrase and an object or direct object noun phrase.

In Kanuri, major constituent noun phrases are manifested in the verbal sentence in a great variety of syntactic forms. Major constituents may occur as pronouns, nouns, or as noun phrases. Pronoun subject and object noun phrases may occur independently, or may be incorporated in the finite verb form as affixes to the verb. The Kanuri finite verb form always carries its pronoun subject morpheme. In some cases major constituents are manifested both independently and as affixes to the finite verb form. When manifested independently, subjects and objects may or may not be marked by postpositions indicating their syntactic and semantic status. According to the present analysis, direct object pronouns are always marked by the associative postposition when they occur independently, as will be explained below.

In earlier treatments of Kanuri grammar, there has been considerable disagreement over the role played by the postpositions in marking major constituents, and the syntactic and semantic role of the major constituents marked by them. This chapter will provide an at least understandable explanation of the postpositional marking of major constituents.

It is the purpose of the present chapter to describe and explain all of the possible forms in which major constituents are manifested in the verbal sentence. All of the above cited forms which major constituents take will be presented.

2. Pronoun Direct Object Noun Phrases: Independent and Affixed to the Verb Form. A number of earlier treatments of Kanuri grammar have recognized an autonomous accusative case marker, or direct object function marking morpheme (cf Lukas, 1937:17, Cyffer, 1974:108-110). This morpheme has been recognized as distinct from the associative postposition, and has been distinguished orthographically as +gà, even though it is in fact homophonous with the associative postposition +(C+)à (see page 169 for a description of the phonology of this assimilating postposition).

It has been shown (see p.169)that in nonverbal environments, the associative postposition may function as a predicate of existence. Within the noun phrase, it was shown (see p. 199) how the existential character of the associative may be applied to a noun to produce a modifying postpositional phrase which characterizes or exists with the head noun of the noun phrase. In chapter 25 and in chapter 31, the roles of the associative in marking sentence-initial noun phrases for semantic status, and in subordinating adverbial clauses, respectively, are examined. According to the present analysis it is this same associative postposition which is used to mark direct object noun phrases in certain predictable circumstances, and there is no autonomous direct object postposition or accusative case marker.

In neutral, unmarked environments, where both major constituents are pronominal and neither has special status in the sentence, then the synthetic Kanuri verb form is sentential, carrying all of the noun phrase arguments of the sentence. In such environments with a transitive verb, first and second person pronoun objects (as described on pp. 134-38) are normally manifested as affixes to the verb form, and the comparable third person object forms are manifested as null.

Nzúrúkánà.	*I saw you.*
Súrúmmà.	*You saw me.*
Rúkánà.	*I saw it/him/her.*

Any syntactic alteration of these most neutral forms will result in a semantic change in the status of the noun phrases involved. Thus the independent occurrence of the pronoun object noun phrases in these same examples represents a dislocation of them from their neutral and normally expected typological position as shown above. Pronoun objects dislocated and independently manifested in this way are obligatorily marked by the associative postposition, as shown below.

Nyíà rúkánà.	*You I saw./I saw you.*
Wúà rúmmà.	*Me you saw./You saw me.*
Shíà rúkánà.	*It/Him/Her I saw./I saw it/him/her.*

It is common also for such pronoun objects to be manifested both independently and as affixes to the verb form, as shown here.

Nyíà nzúrúkánà.	*You I saw (you).*
Wúà súrúmmà.	*Me you saw (me).*
Shíà rúkánà.	*It/Him/Her I saw (it/him/her).*

The associative postposition is applied here to constituents which for semantic reasons are moved leftward out of their neutral position. This is not because the associative postposition is an accusative case marker, but because the normally neutral pronouns are being given special semantic status. Similarly, dislocated subject pronouns may as well be marked for this status by the associative, though it is not obligatory in this case.

Nòngânyí.	*I don't know.*
Wú nòngânyí.	*Me I don't know (and e.g. don't ask me).*
Wúà nòngânyí.	*(As for) Me I don't know.*

The role of the associative postposition in indicating noun phrase status is further examined in chapter 25.

In the following examples pronoun direct objects are manifested in their most neutral form, only as affixes to the finite verb form.

Dàné, mánànyí tìló mbéjí; gùlnzágáké fàné!	*Wait, I have one thing to say; listen while I tell you.*
Férònyí kámúrò njíkìn.	*I will give you my daughter as a wife.*
Ábbànyí, nònzákànyí.	*My father, I don't know you.*
Shí jírè fànzâ gùlngádà.	*S/He heard the truth and told you (pl).*
Nyí ngáwòn ságàm.	*You followed me from behind.*
Sùwúdà shô wáltà fânnzárò lèwónò.	*S/He brought it and gave it to me and then went back to his/her house.*
(Wúrò) gànáságánà.	*That does not give me enough time (deadline).*
Nzátánà wá?	*Is that enough for you?/Are you satisfied?/Have you had enough?*
Wóptágá fâr ngármàbè-à 'wánzákí' kámúbè-à, támmân àwó nóngùbè bâ.	*Being thrown by a strong horse, and the 'I dislike you' of a woman, are never a thing of shame.*
Kàmówùnyè dúnjí yàyé, kàsò dúnònámbèdámárò kàsámìn.	*Even if it is by the elephant you are being chased, you will run for your life.*

'Rúkə̂nyí, fàngə̂nyí, nòngə̂nyí'də́, fúwù mâibèn yàyé nzə̀sàngîn.	*That I didn't see it, I hadn't heard, I don't know', will save you, even in the judgement of a king.*

In the following examples pronoun direct objects are manifested twice; once independently and once as affixes to the finite verb form. In many environments this repetition will connote some kind of emphasis of the object, somewhat comparable to contrastive stress in English. It should be pointed out that the yes-no question marker wá, is always pronounced as bá when it follows a nasal consonant. Some of the objects are indirect.

Wúà nòsə̂m wá?	*Do you know me?*
Wú nyíà nzùwórə́kìn, wúà nòsə̂m wá?	*I am asking you, do you know me?*
nyí wúrò jírè yàkkə́ gùlsə́gə́míà ...	*when you have told me three truths ...*
Àndíà shèshènîn sà.	*They expected to kill us.*
Tádànyí, tìlónə́m kə̀mândé àndírò sádò; wú yé nyíà kòlnzə́kə́nà.	*My son, you alone God gave us; I have abandoned you.*
Âm ísà wúà kówósà.	*People came and beat me.*
Wúà sə̀ràám wá kə̀ráwó àshîrbèrò?	*Will you love me in a secret love affair?*
Á'à, wúdə́ nyíà nzə̀ràákìnbáwò.	*No, me I will not love you.*
'Wúà sə̀ràámbâ wá?' nə̀m kórə́míà, wándè nyíà nzə̀ràgə́nàdə́ àré wúrò gùllé.	*When you have asked 'will you love me?' then come and tell me which one loves you.*
Wú nyírò búrwò tìló nzə̀kkə̀líkìn.	*I am going to teach you one thing.*
Wú gàdérò 'nyíà nâ ádə̀làn nzùrúkíà nyíà yèzə́kìn dìyé!	*If I see you again in this place I'll kill you!*
Shí nyíà nzùríà nzə̀ráyí.	*When s/he sees you s/he will like you.*
Wúrò àmàrsə́gə́né gàákè njî kə̀jî ádə̀à wú yé yáké.	*Allow me to enter so that I too may drink this delicious water.*
Àré nyíà kàsúdùlàn njèzə́kìn.	*Come here and I will kill you with laughter./you will die laughing.*
Kâm nyíà nzə̀ràgə́naà ràámmà mbéjíà lènówó rókkó námnówó.	*If there is a man who you love that loves you, go and stay together.*
Àbí nànkàrò ísə̀m àndírò làllèsáàmdə́?	*Why is it that you come and condole us?*

In the following sequences of sentences and text segments, observe the use of the different possible forms of pronoun objects. It is frequently the pattern that when an object is first introduced, it is expressed both in its independent and in its affixed form. In subsequent sentences it is expressed only in its affixed form.

Wú nyírò búrwò tìló nzə̀kkə̀líkìn. Nzə̀kkə̀líkíà wàndé ndúmárò gùllə̂mí.	*I am going to teach you one thing. When I teach it to you don't tell anyone.*
Dâlyè, "Yâa búltù, nyíà nònzə́kə́nà dùwō ísə́kè nyíà nánjíwúkò. Ísə́kè nâ ádə̀làn nyíà nánzə́gə́kə́nàdə́, nyí búltù yé dùwō kə̀mâr gónə̀m wúà dànə̂m jírè yàkkə̀rò sùwórə́mmà ádə̀, yâà búltù nyí ádə̀ kə̀nânə́m báwò nyâ, kə̀nânə́m mbéjíà ádə̀gâi gə̀nyí.	*The goat said, "Brother hyena, I knew you before I came and met you just now. Now that I have come and met you here, and though you are a hyena, you restrain yourself and stop me and ask 3 truthes of me; goodness brother hyena, you must not be hungry if you were hungry it wouldn't be like this./it can only be that you are not hungry.*
Kámú kúràyè, "Wúrò 'wúà sə̀ràâm wá?' nə̀mìndə́, nyí-à kwânyí-à gànándôn sáwà díwì; wùrànûw nâ kámúbè tíù kámúàrò wállûw wú nàndíà nzárúkìn kû kwânyí fátòn bâ nànkà, nyí cìnə̂m	*The senior wife said, "You say to me 'will you love me?'; you and my husband became friends in your youth; you grew up and reached the marrying age, you got married; as I see you, today my*

búné ísəm wúà səràámìn nəmìn, wúdə́ nyíà nzəràákə̂nyí. Nyí sáwà kwânyíbè. Nzəràákíà, wàyèyâ fúwù kəmândébèn ngə́là gənyí.	*husband is away and you come in the night and tell me that you love me; me I don't love you. You are a friend of my husband's. Were I to love you, it would be very bad in the sight of God.*

2.1. Associative-Marked Direct Object Pronouns. In the most natural and neutral form of the unmarked transitive sentence (as introduced in 2 above), the finite verb form carries object pronouns. In such environments, first and second person objects are affixed to the verb form. Third person objects are manifested as null, as in: Rúmmà wâ? *Did you see it/him/her?* Ââ, rúkə́nà. *Yes, I saw it/him/her*. The use of these utterances transitively implies perfect and unambiguous understanding on the part of the speaker and the hearer of the object referent that is understood. If this understanding is not complete, and the noun phrase refers back to a previously mentioned NP, then independent manifestation of the coreferent pronoun object may be required. Such independent pronoun objects are always marked by the associative postposition, just as is the case with their first and second person counterparts when independent. Therefore, there is a spectrum of reasons for expressing pronoun objects independently, with each point on the spectrum representing a more marked form than the affixed/null form. All are marked by the associative postposition in its role as a NP status marker. At the most extreme end of the spectrum might by the dislocated, contrastive topic marked by the associative (see VI.25.), and at the less marked end might be the 3P pronoun used to indicate the plurality of a third person object, as in Sàndíà lèfàné. *Greet them.*, in which the independent object is so nearly redundant that it is often placed after the verb, in violation of SOV order, as an afterthought to avoid any risk of ambiguity, i.e. Lèfàné sàndíà. Somewhere in between these two extremes on the spectrum would be the associative-marked object that is followed by its agent-marked subject, as described in 3 below.

When a verb form begins in s+, and occurs with a first person object, expression of the independent pronoun object may be required even in neutral environments since the basic form and the affixed object form coincide, as in: Wúà súrúnà. *S/he saw me.* and Wúà sətə́nà. *I have had enough.*

When the determiner +də́ marks such a pronoun object for its *givenness* (see VI.25.), then associative marking may not be required when there is no risk of ambiguity, as in: Shíà rúkə́nà. *I saw him/her.* and Shídə́ rúkə́nà. *I saw that one/(the aforementioned) him/her*. If in no way marked then an independent pronoun can only be interpreted as a subject, as in:

Shí súrúnà.	*Him he saw (it).*
Shíà súrúnà.	*S/He saw it/him/her.*
Shídə́ súrúnà.	*That one s/he saw (it)./S/He saw that one.*

The following example shows that subject-object relations are different in Kanuri than in other languages, and that one should not apply one's English intuitions to figuring out such relations.

Shíà kúngə́nàrò təmàzánà.	*They expect money of him.*

2.2. Associative Marking of Nonpronominal Direct Objects. Whether or not an independent nonpronoun direct object is marked by the associative postposition is a function of a great variety of factors, among them: 1) degree of semantic dislocation, 2) the order of the major constituents, 3) position of adverbial constituents, 4) risk of ambiguity and respective semantic classes of major constituent NPs. Some of these factors bear on the associative marking (or nonmarking) of the direct object in the following examples.

Tádànzə́à cúrò.	*S/He saw her/his child.*
Wàndé njîmnə́mmà fə̀rə́mnə̀m kàntánà gàgə̂nyí.	*Don't open your room and let the mosquitoes get in.*
Wúà mâi súnótə̀ nânə́mrò.	*I was sent by the king to your place.*
Njî ngə́wùrò làmbìtə́nzə́də́ kə̀ská gàdésòà kózə́nà.	*Its need for a lot of water is greater than that of other trees.*
Njî sámìbè dùròlàn lárdə̀ gàdéà kózə́nà.	*In rainfall it surpasses other areas.*

3. The Agent Postposition +yè. Kanuri does not have a case marking system according to the present analysis. Therefore +yè is not a nominative case marker (as suggested by Lukas, 1937:17 and others). It will be shown here that +yè can be best understood and explained when analyzed as a postposition indicating that the subject NP is the agent or source of the action of the verb, as in: Wúà kə̀nâyè cítà. *Hunger seized me./I was seized by hunger.* In this example, the subject is kə̀nâ *hunger*, an unlikely subject of a verb, an even more unlikely agent of an action. In addition, the subject/agent is preceded by its object NP, and thus the major constituents are out of their typologically predicted SOV order. Factors such as these make it obligatory to mark the subject with the agent postposition in this example. It seems that this type of example is the Kanuri equivalent of a passive construction with expressed agent, and there is no doubt that the passive interpretation is one of the possible interpretations. Thus the agent postpositional phrase functions very much like the *by*-phrase in an English passive construction. Agentless passives are produced in Kanuri through the use of the III passive-reflexive form of the verb, as in e.g. Tə̀dîn. *It is done/doable/feasible.* In such constructions however an expressed agent is impossible. Thus passive-like constructions are produced in Kanuri through the fronting of the direct object NP and agent marking of the subject NP, accompanied by no morphological alteration of the verb form. As would be predicted by the present analysis of the postposition +yè as an agent marker, its occurrence is almost totally restricted to transitive sentences.

Agent marking of the subject NP is required in all of the following examples because of the inverse order of subject and object. It is this OS order accompanied by the agent marking which makes the passive interpretation possible. Some of the following examples are from Lukas, 1937.

Shíà mátòyè zàràpkónò.	*He was nearly killed by a car.*
Fânnzə́də́ njîyè wùrzə́nà.	*His house was destroyed by the rain.*
Lènyówó nâ ndúmá kámânzə́yè zə́wìnbân gə̀nányówó.	*Let's go and set it up where no one will be destroyed/eaten by his colleague.*
Kə̀nyérì bòwátàà kókó fályè súrí.	*The reclined squirrel was seen suddenly by one frog.*
Shíà Álìyè cèzô.	*S/He was killed by Ali.*
Álì shíà cèzô.	*Ali killed him.*
Kǎisə́ kúlwúyè gə̀ràjînbâ.	*Corpulence is not concealed by the gown.*
Làrdə̀wá dáwù Áfrikàbèn wúyè zìyàràngə́nà sámmásôn lárdə̀ shírò kə̀mbû bútùà wò zìyàrə̀ngə̂nyí.	*Of all the countries in Africa visited by me/that I've visited, I havent visited one with cheaper produce.*
Tígə̀nzə́ sámmá kúndúlì kùrúwù kùrúwùyè zàksə́nà.	*Its whole body is covered with/by long long hair.*

In certain environments in which a direct object NP is not expressed, a passive-like interpretation with the subject as agent results from the marking of the subject with this postposition.

Kâm lááyè sàrùzə̂nyíà mbéjí.	*If it hasn't been borrowed by someone it is there.*
Kùrú âm láásòyè tə̀màzánà ...	*Furthermore, it is thought by some people*
Álàyè sə̀díà ...	*If God is willing/God be willing ...*

In making direct quotations, the agent/source normally occurs initially marked by the agent postposition. It may be followed by the listener marked by the indirect postposition +rò. The relevant form of the verb ngìn *say*, or whatever quotation verb is being used may then occur either before or after the direct quote. The following represent possible forms.

Álìyè shírò, " ... " wònò.	*Ali said to him, "...".*
Shírò Álìyè, " ... " wònò.	*To him Ali said, "...".*
Álìyè shírò wònò, " ... ".	*Ali said to him, "...".*
Shírò Álìyè wònò, " ... ".	*To him Ali said, "...".*

In other environments where the subject is in its expected initial position, the agent postposition may nevertheless be used to mark the subject for semantic reasons. The result implies that the subject is the agent or source of the action and may in some cases relate to the agent's ability or inability. Some of the following examples are from Lukas, 1937:167, 169).

Mbə́ltài mbə́ltài dùwô kâmnzá fályè kámânzə́à dúnòn kójíà dàjí fáldə́à wópsəgìn.	*They wrestle and wrestle until when one of them surpasses his partner in strength and then throws him over.*
Kâm fályè âm yàskə́gǎi zàtàtàrò wópsə́gíà dàjí yîm ádə̀n shí gàdérò mbə́ltìnbâ.	*If one person throws over about 3 opponents consecutively then he doesn't wrestle again on that day.*
Máwònòsó kâmdə́yè kə̀ngə́sə̀à súrûnyí.	*Look for it though he might, the man could not see the flea.*
Yîm wàjíà ngòáa sàdîndə́ búné gàngámàsòyè gàngá zàtà bàdìzâi.	*At night on the eve of the day they are to wrestle, the drummers start drumming.*
Kúngə́nàyè mbówóshíà nàndílàn; kàsúdùyè mbówónzáià wúlàn.	*If I fall short of money it is your fault; if you fall short of laughter it is my fault (said by a professional storyteller to his audience).*
Ádə̀nàngàrò âmsòyè shílàn kàráwù zàwòtîn.	*That is why people have a saying about him.*
fútù ngòàawúyè ngòáa mbə́lzàidə́ ...	*the way wrestlers wrestle ...*
Kâmyè nyírò hérbà sə̀díà àbí dímìn?	*When a person is cruel to you what do you do?*

CHAPTER 23: THE COMPLEX NOUN PHRASE (RELATIVE CLAUSE CONSTRUCTION)

1. Introduction. As has been clearly established in chapters 19 and 20, the Kanuri NP is characterized by the head-modifier order. Likewise within the complex NP, the head NP precedes its sentential modifier, i.e. the relative clause. The relative clause is related to the head NP because one of the nominal elements of this modifying sentence has identity of reference with the head NP. In the following example, the same kámúnzə́ *his wife* is the subject of the relative clause and the direct object of the main clause.

Kámúnzə́ górò sə̀làdîndə́ lèfâwókò. *I greeted his wife that sells kola.*

In the preceding chapters of this section it has been observed that the elements which modify and specify in the NP are adjectival nouns, quantifiers, and determiners, occurring normally in that order in the basic NP. In the basic structure of the complex NP in which a sentence is used to describe a head noun, the modifying sentence occurs in the adjective position in the NP schema. If the head NP is a noun modified by an adjective, then the modifying relative clause would follow that adjective. In the above example, the head or antecedent NP (hereafter *ant NP*) kámúnzə́ is represented within the relative clause by the morpheme sə̀+, the affixed subject pronoun morpheme on the finite verb form. One might therefore literally translate that example as: *I greeted his wife that she sells kola.* That pronoun within the relative clause is the relative NP (hereafter *rel NP*), and it is coreferent with and represents the position and role of the ant NP within the relative clause.

Most of the present chapter will be devoted to a description of what is known as the *restrictive relative clause* (hereafter *RRC*). The properties of RRCs in the languages of the world have been described in terms of their semantic function as follows: "coreference between terms inside and outside the clause (Rel NP and Ant NP); the notion that the RC is an assertion about Rel NP (that Rel NP is its theme); and the relation of modification which holds between a restrictive relative clause (RRC) and its antecedent." (Downing, 1978:378-80). It will be assumed in the ensuing discussion that the link of coreference between the ant NP and the rel NP represents one of the forms of anaphoric pronominalization in all languages, and that therefore (à la Kuroda, 1968) a rule of definitization applies to the second of two coreferential NPs as one stage in that process of anaphoric pronominalization and as a precondition to relativization. In the Kanuri RRC, it is normally the complex NP-final occurrence of the anaphoric determiner +də́ which effects this definitization process, as in the above example. In addition, an anaphoric pronoun referring back to ant NP also occurs within the RRC to indicate the syntactic function of rel NP within the RRC. In Kanuri therefore, determiner elements together with personal pronouns combine in the formation of RRCs. Personal pronouns occurring within the Kanuri RRC as rel NP, occur in their canonical typological position and thereby indicate the syntactic function of the rel NP within the RRC. The determiner element functions to definitize the NP position of rel NP and also to delimit the boundaries of the complex NP. Kanuri does not have what we commonly refer to as *relative pronouns*, when discussing the grammar of English. This chapter will also present a brief description of nonrestrictive or appositive relative clause constructions.

2. The Aspect of the Verb in the Verbal Relative Clause. The occurrence of a finite verb form within the relative clause is not characterized by any morphological alteration as is characteristic of certain SOV languages with a modifier-noun structure. The form of the verb is thus syntactically

isolated, not a special subordinated form, since it is always an independent verb form which could as well occur alone in a main clause, as is clear in the following example.

Kâmdə́ rúkə́nà.	*I saw the person.*
Kâm rúkə́nàdə́ sáwànə́m.	*The person that I saw is your friend.*

Nevertheless, it is not all of the independent finite verb aspects which may occur within the verbal relative clause. The only affirmative aspects which occur in the relative clause are the imperfect and the perfect. Also manifested are their negative counterparts, the negative imperfect and the negative completive aspects. None of the other affirmative completive aspects may occur within a relative clause. As is shown below, neither past, the NEP, nor the VEP (respectively) may occur therein.

Kâm kàsúwùlàn rúkə́nàdə́ sáwànə́m.	*The person that I saw in the market is your friend.*
*Kâm kàsúwùlàn cúrúkòdə́ sáwànə́m.	
*Kâm kàsúwùlàn rúkòdə́ sáwànə́m.	
*Kâm kàsúwùlàn rúkídə́ sáwànə́m.	

This restriction on the use of the affirmative completive aspects in the relative clause is corroborated elsewhere in Kanuri grammar. As is observed in chapter 24 with regard to nominalized sentential subjects and objects, and again in chapter 26 with regard to the predicate NPs of cleft NP constructions, the perfect verb aspect is in both of these other cases the only affirmative completive verb aspect which may occur in a nominal constituent with a finite verb form. The perfect is the only affirmative completive aspect to which the determiner element +də́ may be applied, thereby effecting nominalization.

3. The Role and Position of Determiners in the Complex NP. It has been observed that the postposed definitizer +də́ functions uniquely throughout Kanuri as an anaphoric determiner, whose indefinite counterpart is either 0, or for NPs which are specific but not definite, the postposed láá *some, a certain*. The determiner +də́ is used throughout the language to delimit the NP, and in its every occurrence a NP boundary, i.e. constituent break, is indicated. It can never be used deictically, only anaphorically, to recapitulate or refer back to a previous occurrence of a coreferent NP. Within the complex NP, from its NP-final position, the determiner +də́ is performing both of these functions, i.e. constituent delimitation and effecting the anaphoric relation between the rel NP and the ant NP. Thus it functions to bind the entire complex NP and to indicate the definiteness of rel NP within the relative clause, the latter being a universal prerequisite to anaphoric pronominalization.

Compare the Kanuri and the English forms of the following sentence, as well as the accompanying phrase structure schema.

Kâm lèzə́nà+də́ sáwànə́m.	*The person that went is your friend.*
ant NP (DET) RRC DET	*DET ant NP REL PRO RRC*

In both English and Kanuri it is clear that the ant NP and the rel NP are undoubtedly coreferent, and here agree in both being definite and specific. As might be predicted typologically, in English, the DET position and the REL PRO position are both preposed, whereas in Kanuri, the two proposed DET positions are both postposed. In Kanuri the total agreement in definiteness and specificity between the ant NP and the rel NP is shown by the unique occurrence of the determiner element +də́ in RRC-final (complex NP-final) position. As long as this complete agreement in definiteness and specificity exists in the complex NP, then the determiner position (*(DET)* in the above schema) between ant NP and the modifying RRC may not be filled and is always Ø. Because a word-final occurrence of the determiner +də́ indicates a constituent break, if +də́ were to occur in that DET position the following appositive, or non-restrictive relative clause construction would result. The commas indicate pauses in speech.

Kâmdə́, lèzə́nàdə́, sáwànə́m.	*The person, the one that went, is your friend.*

If the ant NP of the complex NP does not agree in definiteness with the (always definite) anaphoric rel NP, then this may be shown through the use of the post-ant NP determiner position, filling it with the specific and indefinite determiner element láá as shown in the following example set.

Fátò kâm láá sûnzə́ Jíbrìn sâidə́bèn zə̀pcîn.	*He would stay at the home of a certain/some person whose name they say is Jibrin.*
Kâm láá sûnzə́ njèsə̀ngə́nàdə́ kádìo.	*Some person whose name I have forgetton came.*
Kâm láá kàsúwùlàn rúkə́nàdə́ kádìo.	*Some person that I saw in the market came.*

It is examples of this type which document the fact that there are two distinct determiner positions in the Kanuri complex NP, one after the ant NP, and another in complex NP-final position.

As mentioned, the post-ant NP determiner position is one that is filled in non-restrictive relative clause constructions, even when both the ant and rel NPs agree in definiteness and specificity. In the above three examples, the indefinite láá in that position may also indicate a constituent break. Therefore these same examples may be interpreted as non-restrictive relative clauses if the appropriate pauses are added.

Kâm láá, sûnzə́ ngèsə̀ngə́nàdə́, kádìo.	*Some person, whose name I have forgotten, came.*

In a relative clause construction therefore, if the post-ant NP determiner position is empty, the structure is a RRC. If that position is filled by the determiner +də́ then the pauses are obligatory and the structure is a non-restrictive relative clause. If that position is filled by the indefinite láá, then the structure may occur without pauses as an RRC, or with pauses as a non-restrictive relative clause.

Very often when the ant NP and the rel NP do not agree in definiteness, the NP-final occurrence of the determiner +də́ becomes optional, and is frequently dropped. If the indefinite láá is overtly manifested in such a construction, then it may occur in either of the determiner positions in the complex NP.

Kâm láá kàsúwùlàn rúkə́nà, ... Kâm kàsúwùlàn rúkə́nà láá, ...	*Some person (that) I saw in the market, ..*

More examples of this type are presented below. The occurrence or the non-occurrence of +də́ in these and other complex NP constructions is not always easily explainable. Its use is determined on the basis of very subtle semantic considerations which are very much dependent on the discourse context. This same observation applies to its use in anaphorically marking the simple NP, and also to its use in marking sentential subjects and objects, as observed in chapter 24. In attempting to understand +də́, one is very often reminded of the same unpredictability of its (sometimes) English counterpart *that*, which has been so thoroughly documented in the literature (see e.g. Bolinger:1972).

Àwó láá Àméríkàlàn mánəmìn mbéjírò wálwònòà, gùllé.	*If there is something that you are looking for from America, say.*
Áwò Àméríkàlàn mánə́mìn láá mbéjírò wálwònòà, gùllé.	*If there is something that you are looking for from America, say.*
Tádà láá kə̀lân jê njíbè gózə́nà cúrúiyè.	*We saw some boy who was carrying a pot of water on his head.*
Kâm láá nânzə̂n àrgə̂mmà dùwô mándà sə̀tànyí, dàjí ádə̀ nànkàrò àrgə̂mnzə́ gàná gózə̀ kàsúwùrò sádìn mándàà njìwòrò.	*There was some person who though he had millet at his place had not gotten hold of any salt; therefore he took a little of his millet to the market in order to buy some salt.*
Wú-à málàm-à fómnyèn kàsâm kə̀nzâ nànkàrò dùwô tádà láá círìnnà kə̀lâ fókkàiyè díwàllìn.	*The malam and I were out for a walk to get some air when we ran into a boy who was crying on the road/path.*
Kâm láá cìzə́nà fânnzə́rò lèjîn dùwô dàjí cárì láá sə̀mbàrə́nà ráksə̀ ànzánzə́má gójìnbáwòà díwàllìn kə̀lâ fókkàdà.	*There was a certain man who had gotten up and was on his way home though when he met up with an old man on the road who was worn out and could not even manage to carry his load.*
Rá nyí yàyé, àwó láá kə̀mbûbè wúrò kàsànnə̂m shímìnmá mbéjí wá?	*And what about you, is there something to eat that you might agree to give me?*
Kâm wòsó lèzə́nà, ... Kâm lèzə́nà wòsó, ...	*Each/Every person who went, ...*

4. Forms in Which Rel NP Occurs Within the RRC (Patterns of Pronoun Retention Within the RRC). It was observed in chapter 22 in relation to the Kanuri sentence that in normal, unmarked environments, when a major NP constituent (i.e. subject or object NP) is pronominal, that it will not occur in the sentence in the form of an independent pronoun. Instead it is manifested only as a clitic subject/object morpheme as carried within the finite verb form. Therefore the sentence Lèzə́nà. *S/He has gone.* represents a more neutral and unmarked form than the sentence Shí lèzə́nà. In the latter form in which the subject pronoun is manifested both independently and as a clitic on the verb, some kind of emphasis of the subject pronoun is implied. There (ch. 22) it was also observed that since the clitic object morpheme for the third person is Ø, then the most neutral and unmarked form for the third person object pronoun was also Ø, being manifested neither independently nor inside the finite verb form. These same observations may also be applied to the major NP constituents when they occur as rel NP within the RRC, as will be shown.

From its place in NP-final position, the determiner +də́ performs the functions described in 3 above, but cannot also show the function of rel NP within the RRC. The only function-marking postpositions which may occur on the NP-final determiner, are those indicating the function of the entire complex NP in the main or matrix sentence. It is the personal pronouns (whether in their clitic or their independent form) which indicate the function of rel NP within the RRC, by occurring in the typological position of that rel NP. In the first example below, rel NP is the subject NP of the RRC, and it occurs within the RRC only as the clitic 3S subject pronoun +zə́+. In the second example, rel NP is the object NP of the RRC, and as described above, it occurs within the RRC as Ø. In the alternative forms of these two examples which follow them, a redundant independent personal pronoun is retained to indicate the function of rel NP within the RRC.

Kâm lèzə́nàdə́ sáwànə́m.	*The person that went is your friend.*
Kâm kàsúwùlàn rúkə́nàdə́ sáwànə́m.	*The person that I saw in the market is your friend.*

Kâm shí lèzə́nàdə́ sáwànə́m.	*The man that went is your friend.*
Kâm shíà kàsúwùlàn rúkə́nàdə́ sáwànə́m.	*The man I saw in the market is your friend.*

The independent pronominal rel NPs in these examples would almost never be retained in this way.

There are however environments in which the retention of independent pronominal rel NPs for major NP constituents such as these is required. Such pronouns would have to be retained when there exists some non-canonical functional relationship between the major constituents of the finite verb form within the RRC. This is comparable to the same environments within the simple sentence (see VI.22) where function-marked (by postpositions) independent pronouns are required. In the following examples, the occurrence of the non-canonical OSV order within the RRC creates environments in which function-marked copies of rel subject NP and rel object NP, respectively are required. As in main clauses, this aberrant typological order results in marking of the left-dislocated direct object NP with the associative postposition, and the related (concurrent) marking of the subject NP with the agent postposition +yè. This formation of the major constituents in a Kanuri sentence was referred to as the Kanuri equivalent of a passive-agent construction in VI.22.

Kâm Álìà shíyè súrúnàdə́ àbímá gùlzə̂nyí.	*The person who Ali was seen by didn't say anything.*
Kâm shíà Álìyè súrúnàdə́ sáwànyí.	*The person who was seen by Ali is my friend.*

Elsewhere, such copies of major NP constituents are completely redundant, unless the speaker wishes to semantically single out and uniquely identify rel NP, that is, more than to the degree that is already done so by the RRC. This is done through the application of the emphatic particle +má to the retained independent pronoun, as shown in the first two examples below. It is much more common however for these independent pronouns to not occur, and for the emphatic particle +má to occur in post-RRC position, immediately preceding the determiner as shown in the alternative forms below.

Kâm shímá lèzə́nàdə́, ...	*?The person who HE went, ...*
Kâm shímá rúkə́nàdə́, ...	*?The person who I saw HIM, ...*
Kâm lèzə́nàmádə́, ...	*The very/one person who went, ...*
Kâm rúkə́nàmádə́, ...	*The very/one person that I saw, ...*

Such emphasis of a rel NP may not occur in English as is indicated by the awkward translations above. In the more common alternative forms, the same degree of emphasis is not implied as indicated by the translations above. The intermediate stage between these two forms, which as well occurs in Kanuri, is represented by the following forms of these same two complex NPs.

Kâm shí lèzə́nàmádə́, ...
Kâm shíà rúkə́nàmádə́, ...

Similar emphasis or intensification of a plural rel/ant NP may also entail pronoun retention and optional movement of a quantifier to post-RRC position immediately preceding the determiner element, as shown here with the quantifiers sámmá, sámmásó, só *all*.

Am sàndí sámmá(só) lèzánàdə́, ...	*The people who all went/all of whom went,*
?Am sàndísó lèzánàdə́, ...	
Am sámmásó lèzánàdə́, ...	*All the people who went, ...*
Am lèzánà sámmá (sódə́), ...	*All the people who went, ...*
Am lèzánàsó(də́), ...	*All the people who went, ...*
Am lèzánàdə́ sámmá(só), ...	*The people who went, all of them, ...*

It is clear from examples such as these that the various patterns of pronoun retention interact with the various quantifier and determiner positions to effect subtle meaning differences.

4.1. Retained Pronoun as Ant NP. There is a tendency for the retained pronoun copy of a major constituent NP to supersede the ant NP syntactically, and to move from the status of rel NP to ant NP. In this way it comes to function as ant NP, with the preceding lexical non-pronoun head functioning as a sort of topicalized NP. This makes the RRC with its new pronominal ant NP very much like an appositive nonrestrictive relative clause, as if the speaker began by thinking he would not have to identify the head noun with anything more than a determiner, but then decided to add an entire relative clause construction. When such a retained pronoun takes on the role of ant NP, it may not be marked in any way by a postposition indicating function.

kâm(,) shí kàsúwùlàn rúkə́nàdə́, ...	*the person(,) the one that I saw in the mkt.*

As will be observed at a number of points throughout the subsequent data sections, Kanuri has a variety of forms of headless relative clauses, i.e. complex NPs without an ant NP. This is especially true of RRCs for which the ant NP is a generic noun, of the type thus far examined in this chapter, e.g. headed by nouns like kâm *person*, àwó *thing*, etc. Therefore all of the possible forms of the above example are quite possible and to be expected.

kâm kàsúwùlàn rúkə́nàdə́, ...	*the person that I saw in the market, ...*
kâm shí kàsúwùlàn rúkə́nàdə́, ...	*the person that I saw (him) in the market,*
shí kàsúwùlàn rúkə́nàdə́, ...	*him/the one that I saw in the market, ...*
kàsúwùlàn rúkə́nàdə́, ...	*the one I saw in the market, ...*
kâm shímá kàsúwùlàn rúkə́nàdə́, ...	*?the person who I saw him in the market, ...*
kâm shí kàsúwùlàn rúkə́nàmádə́, ...	*the very/one person that I saw in the market,*
shí kàsúwùlàn rúkə́nàmádə́, ...	*the very one that I saw in the market, ...*
kâm kàsúwùlàn rúkə́nàmádə́, ...	*the very person that I saw in the market, ...*
kàsúwùlàn rúkə́nàmádə́, ...	*the very one that I saw in the market, ...*

The interpretation of headless relatives is of course dependent on a discourse context clearly understood by both speaker and hearer. A given headless RRC will take on a wide range of meanings when translated, according to the context in which it occurs.

4.2. Patterns of Pronoun Retention for Rel NPs in Oblique Functions in RRC. In general it may be stated with regard to verbal RRCs, that retention of an independent pronoun in the RRC is often required for those rel NPs which are not normally incorporated in the finite verb form as clitic pronouns. Thus pronoun retention in the RRC is more common for rel NPs in oblique functions, rather than those in major functions, i.e. subject and object NP as discussed above. In RRCs of this type, all of the other aspects of relative clause formation (e.g. aspect restrictions, role of determiners, etc.) as described thus far still apply.

For a rel NP which is the indirect object NP of the RRC, there is normally obligatory independent pronoun retention with function-marking by the indirect postposition +rò, as shown below.

Kâm shírò mátònyí yìkkə̀làdə̀kə́nàdə́ kúngə́nànzə́à.	*The person that I sold my car to has money.*
Kâm mátònyí shírò yìkkə̀làdə̀kə́nàdə́ kúngə́nànzə́à.	*The person that I sold my car to has money.*

Such retained pronouns will normally occur in their canonical typological position within the RRC. In the case of the indirect object, there is considerable freedom with regard to its order in the RRC, as is shown by the two alternate forms of the above sentence. The retained pronoun may however be excluded, as shown below, when there is no risk of ambiguity.

Also with the verb *give*, the retained pronoun is frequently omitted.

Kâm mátònyí yìkkə̀làdə̀kə́nàdə́ kúngə́nànzə́à.	*The person to whom I sold my car has money.*
Kámú kúngə́nàdə́ (shírò) yíkə́nàdə́ kàsúwùrò lèwónò.	*The woman I gave the money to went to the market.*

For a rel NP which is an instrumental NP within the RRC, there is obligatory pronoun retention. Without it, misinterpretation of the type indicated below may result.

Jánà kànyî shílàn dùwàzə́nàdə́ tímìà.	*The knife with which I slaughtered the goat is sharp.*
?Jánà kànyî dùwàzə́nàdə́, ...	*?The knife that slaughtered the goat, ...*

For a rel NP which is a genitive NP within the RRC, there is again obligatory pronoun retention. In such cases, the retained pronoun is normally in the form of a possessive pronoun suffix.

Kâm fə̂rnzə́ ndàltə́nàdə́ zâurò kàrə́gə̀nzə́ kúttù.	*The person whose horse was stolen is very sad.*

Additional examples of these and other relative clause types will be examined in the sections which follow.

5. Rel NP as Subject of the RRC. In the following three examples, the coreferent rel NP of the RRC is the subject of the RRC. The entire complex NP functions as the subject of the main verb in the first, as its direct object in the second, and as its indirect object in the third. Notice that there is no independent retained pronoun in any of these examples.

Kâm kû Yêrwàrò lèzə́nàdə́ bálì wáltìn.	*The person that went to Yerwa today will return tomorrow.*
Kâm shíà líwùlà dùtòn kózə́nàdə́(à) ngáltémá rúkə̀nyí.	*I have never seen a person who is better at sewing that s/he.*
Am ísàidə́rò górò yé.	*Give kola to the people who are coming.*

In the following examples of rel NP as subject of the RRC, the ant NP is not a noun in isolation, but is modified in the first two by a genitive phrase, and in the last example by a possessive pronoun suffix.

Kùrwúlì kàráàbè súró kàráàbèn də̀gánàdə́ kâm céjìnbâ.	*The lion of the bush who lives in the bush does not kill people.*
Díwàl yàlábè kàsúwù Màidùwùríbèrò ísə́nàdə́ zâurò fárák.	*The northern road which came to the Maiduguri market was very wide.*
Sàwàwándé nâ fállàn námnyénàsòdə́ sámmá kə̀léwà sə́lái.	*Our friends that we stayed in the same place with are all very well.*

In the following examples, the ant NP is a negative indefinite pronoun. In each case the matching negative required to give the negative indefinite meaning occurs in the main clause predicate, and not within the RRC.

Ndúmá nə̀ksə́nà fàngə́nà bâ.	*There was no one who I heard who made a sound.*
Ndúmá ísə́nà rúkə̀nyí.	*I saw no one who came.*

In the following examples, note the variety of possible determiner elements, including the determiner +də́, which may occur in RRC-final position.

Kâm lìítà súríà sə̀ràgə́nà wòsórò míntì úwù yíkìn.	*I give five minutes to every person who wants to see the doctor.*
Màlàmwá kôs sàdə́nà ányì, láanzá câ bùrwó dárájà kə̀rmálàmbè sàwàndə̂nyí; àmmá kôs kûbè sàdə́nà ádə̀làn dárájà kə̀rmálàmbè kə̀ndégə́mì sàwàndə́nà.	*These teachers who did the course, some of them had not formerly attained the level of teacher; but now that they have completed the present course, they have become grade four teachers.*

Àbí yàyé àdînnà bànnàjînbâ díwì gə̀nyí, kàanzə̀wúdə́à.	*No matter what that does not violate the religion is not bad, in his opinion.*
Kùrú, dìwàlwá kàsúwù Màidùwùríbèrò gə̀dîn ísàidə́ ngə́wù.	*Furthermore, the roads that lead to the Maiduguri market from the east are many.*
Kámú hóktùnzə́ sətə̂nyí wánéè àsáràgăirò májìnrò kùrwûn cîn.	*He gives medicine to any woman whose term is not up and who might abort.*
Ngô dìyé àwó wààzə́nàdə́ wò.	*Hey here is what it is that happened.*
Àwó gàpsə́nà bâ.	*There is nothing left/not a thing that remains.*

5.1. Rel NP as Subject of RRC in Complex NP from which Ant NP is Omitted. As mentioned earlier, if ant NP is a semantically generic noun occurring as ant NP without modifiers (e.g. kâm *person*), or is completely understood in the utterance context, then it may be omitted, resulting in apparently headless RRCs like the following.

Dòndìzə́nàdə́ ngàzə́nà.	*The one that got sick has recovered.*
Kójìnmádə́má kăkkè wò.	*It is the one that is passing that is mine.*
Kàlìímò gə̀nyâ, ráksə̀ Sàhăràn lèjîndə́ bâ.	*Except for the camel, there is not one that can travel in the Sahara.*
Də́lá gə̀nyâ, lèzə̂ shíà lèfàzə̂nyídə́ bâ.	*Except for the jackal, there was not one of them that did not go and greet him.*
Fànzə́nà fânnzə̂n.	*The one that heard it is in his house.*

6. Rel NP as the Object of the RRC. In all of the examples presented in this section the function of the rel NP is as the direct object of the RRC. The variant forms on this basic theme will be presented in separate groups.

Kâm ràámmà mèmètə́yè súwúdìnbâ.	*Looking out will never bring the person that you want (to see).*
Àwó tàmbúmmàmân fànə̂mí kû fànə́mìn.	*Today you will hear something that you have not heard since you were born.*
Kámúnzə́ záwàrlàn sə́mówúnàdə́ bówówònò.	*He called his wife that he had married as a divorcé.*
Àwó nyíà gàlàngîndə́ fàné!	*Listen to what/the thing I am advising you.*
Kâm Tìjánì wàlâu Kúlìlàn bówózàidə́ nòngə́nà.	*I know the person that they call by Tijani or Kuli.*
Àwòwá bálì díkìnsòdə́ kàdá.	*All the things I will do tomorrow are many.*
Fə̂r Álìbè ndàlzánàmádə́ jílìnzə́ shígăi ngə́wù bâ.	*There are not many horses like Ali's horse that they stole.*
Wúyè áwò dùwônyí Álàyè àlàksə́nàlàn kâmrò ngálwò wò bâ.	*In my opinion, among all the things that God created, there is none more noble than man.*
Àwó nàndírò gùlngîn ádə̀rò njískə́nówó!	*Pay attention to this thing that I am telling all of you.*
Àwó nyírò bìskántò gùlzə́nàdə́ zâurò ngə́là.	*What/the thing that s/he said to you the day before yesterday is very good.*
Súró sàwàwànzə́bè ngámân kâm dùwô màiríà létànyí fálmá báwò.	*Among his friends there was not one person who was not somehow related to the King's palace.*
Díyél fə́ránə̀m férnə́mmàdə́ bùnàdə́ kátə̀ bâ.	*There is no avoiding sleep in a bed that has been cleaned and is all made up.*
Bə́lànzə́ Yêrwà gə̀názə́nàdə́bè kàsúwùnzə́ lə̀tə̀lîn gə̀náwònò.	*For his town Yerwa that he set up, he established the market on Monday.*
Dágə̀lyè àwó súrúnàdə́, búltù ádə̀ shíà kòljînbâ.	*What the monkey saw was that this hyena was not going to let him go.*

Àwó dímìn(də́) nònə́mmà wá?	*Do you know what you are doing/should do?*

In the following examples, the subject NP of the RRC is marked by the agent postposition, indicating that within the RRC the direct object NP precedes the subject/agent. As described in section 4 above, this type of construction may require an independent retàined pronoun, function-marked with the associative postposition, and preceding the subject/agent.

Ádə àwó dùwônyí Kànùrìwáyè gùlzâidə́.	*This is the thing though that is said by the Kanuris.*
Àwó dùwônyí hówùmyè gənásəgə́nàmádə́ kàsànngə́nà.	*I accept the thing which was decided for me by the committee.*
Àwó fə̂ryè sədíà fə̂rdə́ kəjî sâinnàdə́, dálòyè cìdôrò wálwònòà dùwàzâi.	*The thing that when a horse does it they say that that horse is a great horse, if it were to be done by an ox they would slaughter it.*
Kìtáwù ádə̀, shímá kàkkàdəwá Hówùm Lámàr Kúngə́nà Bə́lìnrò Fàltə́gə́bè Tàrtìptə́màdə́yè lə́psə báksə́nàsòdə́bè kəntílómìnzá wò.	*This book, it is the first of the books (though) that were written and printed by the Decimal Currency Board.*
Tàfákkàr bàdìwónò, kəlâ kàálà dùwô ábànzə́yè shírò cínàbèdən.	*He began thinking, about the the advice that had been given him by his father.*
Kâm (shíà) Álìyè kàsúwùlàn lèfàzə́nàdə́à nòngənyí.	*I do not know the person that was greeted by Ali in the market.*
Àwó kâm láayè sədə̂ kəléwà bòjîndə́ kâm láayè sədíà nâ bùnàbèdə́má səwàndînbâ.	*What can be done by one person and he can sleep perfectly well, when done by another person, that person might not even find a place to lie down.*
Àwó kâm kúrà nápkàtàyè súrìndə́ tádà gàná dààtàmáyè súrìnbâ.	*What can be seen by the old man when seated, will not be seen by the young boy even if he is standing up.*
Àwó nàsàràwásòyè àndírò lárdə ádəlàn sàdə́nàdə́ zâurò àndírò fáidàa.	*What has been done to us in this country by the Europeans is very useful to us.*
Àwó ábànə́myè nyírò sədə́nàdə́ zâurò ngə́là.	*The thing that your father did to you is very good.*

It should be pointed out that in many of the above examples, the initial complex NP functions as a sort of topic, and is very much like what have been referred to with regard to other languages as *pseudo-cleft constructions*, as is indicated in some of their translations, e.g. *What has been done to you by your father is very good*, for the last example.

In the following example there is no agent-marked subject NP in the RRC, but a function-marked pronoun for the direct object rel NP is nevertheless retained in the RRC. This form of independent pronoun retention for the direct object is rare, as described in section 4 earlier.

Kàmùwá kəlâ kəntámbìbèn sàndíà róngə́nàmádə́ lèngê rúkìn.	*I will go and see the women who for maternity reasons I have retained (them) (i.e. in the hospital).*

6.1. Rel NP as the Object of RRC in Complex NP from which Ant NP is Omitted.

As was the case with rel NP as the subject of the RRC, when a semantically generic and anaphorically understood NP occurs as ant NP to an object rel NP, it may be omitted and result in headless relative clauses like the following.

Dágəlyè kəská ádəlàn fàrzə̂ túdù sətíà zàzə́rmà yé fàrzə̂ ísə dágəlyè kòlzə́nàdə́rò nápsəgìn.	*The monkey jumps from this tree and when he reaches that one, the leopard too jumps and comes and sits on the one that the monkey left.*

Nyíyè nándə́mmàdə́ rôà lèwónò.	*The one that you bit went away alive.*
Wúyè nándə́kə́nàmádə́ kónù.	*The one that I bit died.*
Nyíyè rúmìn ányì sàndí gə̀nyí.	*These you see are not they.*
	The one that I finished I took to him.
Ádə kə̀lânyînnà dùwô, wúà sə́mówòmíà, nyírò hêrbà díkìndə́ ndúsóà àjàpcîn.	*That is still in my head; but if you do not save me the evil that I do to you will amaze everyone.*

7. Rel NPs which Occur as Oblique NPs in the RRC. In the following examples, the rel NP performs an oblique function as the object of a postpositional phrase within the RRC. As will be seen, in some cases, an independent pronoun plus postposition is retained to represent this rel NP in the RRC. Included here are those oblique phrases involving an indirect object and an instrumental. Those involving expressions of time, place and manner, are treated in a subsequent section since in such cases there is rarely if ever the possibility of independent pronoun retention.

In the first set of examples, a function-marked pronoun copy is retained.

Férò shírò kúngə́nà yíkə́nàdə́à Álìyè súrùnyí.	*The girl to whom I gave the money was not seen by Ali.*
Kâm shírò Tìjánì sàidə́ zâurò kâm ngə́làmá.	*The person to whom they refer as Tijani is a very good person.*
Nàsárà dùwô shírò Jôn sàimá shíà Tújàlàn bówónyènmádə́à rúkə́nà.	*I saw the European though that they refer to as John and that we call Tijani.*
Bə́là shírò Bə̀làmàrí gùlzâi kə́rmá nâ kûrò Shèhùrí də̀gánàdə́.	*The town they call Belamari is the place where the Shehu's palace is up until today.*
Kə̀lâ kə̀ská kúrà shírò tármù gùlzâibèlàn nápkàtà.	*S/He is seated on the big tree which they refer to as the tarmu.*
Ádə̀ bánò shílàn kúlònyí sámmá bàrèngə́nàdə́.	*This is the hoe with which I hoed my entire field.*
Jánà (shílàn) kànyî dùwàngîndə́làn fêà dùwàwónò.	*He slaughtered a cow with the knife with which I slaughter goats.*
Ádə̀ mátò shílàn cídàrò lèngîndə́.	*This is the car in which I go to work.*

The following are examples of this same type, in which an anaphorically understood ant NP is anaphorically understood and has been omitted.

Shírò kùrwûn yíkə́nàmádə́ ngàzə̂nyí.	*The one to whom I gave the medicine has not gotten well.*
Shílàn kùrwúlì yèzə́kə́nàdə́ ndàlzánà.	*They stole the one that I killed the lion with.*

8. Rel NP as the Object of a Genitive Phrase. In the following examples, rel NP functions in a genitive role in the RRC, and in most cases, is represented in the RRC by a usually obligatory suffixed possessive pronoun. The singular +nzə́ *his/her* and the plural +nzá *their* therefore become the retained pronoun form of the rel NP in such RRCs.

Ádə̀má mààrá súrónzə̂n Mákkàrò lènyénàdə́ wò.	*It is this that is the plane in which we went to Mecca.*
Bàrèmá fə̂rnzə́ ndàlzánàdə́ fə̂r gàdé kâiwò.	*The farmer whose horse they stole bought another horse.*
Kúwàan, fátò kâm láa sûnzə́ Jíbrìn sàidə́bèn zə̀pcîn.	*In Kukawa, he would stay at the home of some person whose name is Jibrin.*
Wàndé fátò súrónzə́ rûmí àgə̀rìnə́mì.	*Don't rent a house whose insides you have not seen.*
Kámú láa hóktùnzə́ sə̀tə́nà àmmá kə̀ntámbìrò tìyèríà, náshà kâm rètàbèrò yâkkìn.	*A woman whose time has arrived but who fails to give birth, I take her to the operating room.*

Kámú hóktùnzə́ sətə̂nyí winéè àsáràgãirò májìnnà, shí yé rôngè kùrwûn shírò díkìn.	*A woman whose time has not arrived but maybe if she is about to abort, I retain her also and give her medicine.*

In the following pair of examples, either the suffixed possessive pronoun or the determiner element +də́ may occur in the rel NP position within the RRC. In the latter case it would seem that the locative interpretation (as shown in the translation) is appropriate, rather than the genitive interpretation of the former.

Fátò súródə̂n/súrónzə̂n shíà rúkə́nàdə́ kàánzə̀ gə̀nyí.	*The house wherein/in which I saw him/her is not his/hers.*
Fótò bánkìbè gùlnyénàdə́ yé, fótò fátò súródə̂n/súrónzə̂n bánkìdə́ də̀gánàdə́bè ràáiyè.	*And the photo of the bank that we mentioned, we meant the photo of the building wherein/in which the bank is located.*

9. Complex NPs Headed by Ant NPs of Time, Place and Manner. The most generic and commonly occurring ant NPs in complex NPs of the type here under consideration are the following: sâ *time*, nâ *place*, fútù/də̀lfù *way, manner*. Another ant NP which might also be included in this set is dàlîl *reason*, though it is much less commonly produced. All of these oblique ant NPs and their RRCs are grouped together in this section because it is extremely rare in Kanuri for a rel NP for such ant NPs to be retained within the RRC. One reason that might be used to explain this is that they are certainly the most generic nouns of their respective classes semantically.

Another factor which might contribute to there being no need for a retained rel NP is that the entire complex NP in which they occur is also used obliquely, adverbially. It is relevant to repeat the following example of a rel NP as instrumental from section 7, in which the retained pronoun is optional, almost totally redundant and normally excluded.

Jánà (shílàn) kànyî dùwàngîndə́làn fêà dùwàwónò.	*He slaughtered a cow with the knife with which I slaughter goats.*

In other environments when the entire complex NP does not function as an instrumental within the main clause, then the retained instrumental rel NP is not optional but obligatory. It would seem that when ant NP and rel NP agree in grammatical function (case function) within the main clause and the RRC respectively, then the function-marked pronoun copy of ant NP within the RRC becomes redundant. This is an observation that may apply to similar constructions in languages other than Kanuri. If this is true then it could be used to explain why rel NPs in pronominal form are never retained in RRCs headed by the ant NPs cited earlier in this section, i.e. because the case function of the ant NP always agrees with the rel NP, and is clearly marked in complex NP-final position for the main or matrix clause.

Nâ ràámmàlàn námné!	*Sit down where you want!*
Sâ ísə́nàdə̂n shíà cúrúkò.	*I saw him when/at the time he came.*
Ndú yàyé nâ sə̀ràgə́nàn njóljìn.	*No matter who will squat down where s/he wants.*
Fútùndúsóyè nòzə́nàdə́gãilàn cìdàjîn.	*S/He works in a way that everyone knows.*
Fútù sə́díàn àrgə̂m fínyénàdə́gãirò wáljìn	*It will become like the way that we have spilled millet on the ground.*
Shí tìlónzə́ nânzə́ sə̀ràgə́nàrò lèjîn.	*All by himself he goes where he wants.*
Ndá fútù kúlwú ádə̀à cìdàzə́nàdə́à rúi!	*Look at the way he has worked this gown!*
Múskò kâmmàyè nâ ràámmà zə̀gámbìnbâ.	*Another person's hand will not scratch the place you want.*
Kâm kə̀lâà nânzə̂ndə́, nâ sə̀ràgə́nàlàn kòyô gə̀nájìn.	*The person with a head in his place, can place the hair tufts where he wants (of father of a child).*

Kàsúwùdə́, shímá nâ âmsòyè sáptà áwò fânnzân bââ césə́fìndə́.	*The market, it is the place where people gather and buy things that they are out of at home.*
Sâ kúlò bárèbè sə̀tə́nàdə̂n, kúlò bə́lìn mázə̀ cítà.	*When the time of farming arrived, he went and got a new farm/field.*
Fútù ábànzə́yè gàlàzə́nàdə́gǎirò àbísó cìdô.	*He did everything in exactly the way that his father had advised.*

On the basis of the available data, it is apparent that each of the generic head nouns of this class of oblique complex NPs is generally associated with a characteristic postposition, which typically follows the post-RRC determiner position. It is this postposition which indicates the oblique function of the entire NP in the main clause, and which obviates the necessity of a retained pronoun plus postpositional phrase in the RRC. The postpositions which are typically associated with each of the ant NPs under consideration here are as follows:

sâ	*DET* +(là)n	*at the time that, when, while*
nâ	*DET* +(là)n/+rò	*the place that/where/in/to which, where*
fútù/də́lfù	*DET* +gǎi(+rò)	*the way in which, as*

9.1. Temporal Complex NPs with no Ant NP. Of the complex NP types under consideration in this section, it is only those with a temporal interpretation for which the head noun sâ *time* may be omitted and anaphorically understood. Such headless relative clauses are nearly always followed by a form of the postposition +(là)n in post-RRC determiner position. A function-marked retained pronoun never occurs in the RRC. When such RRCs have a perfect verb form as the finite verb in the RRC, the interpretation is usually that of a fixed point in time with no reference to the sequence of events. When characterized by an imperfect aspect finite verb form, then the interpretation is durational, as shown in the following examples.

Súró fátòbèrò gàyînlàdə̂n, shíà cúrúkò.	*I saw him while he was entering the house.*
Shíà rúiyénà wòsôn kəjî fànjînbâ.	*Every time that we saw him he was not feeling well.*
Mátò kúràdə́ táshàlàn dàjîndə̂n âmsòdə́ kàsàrgáwò.	*While the truck was stopping at the station people entered it.*
Lèngə́nàlàdə̂n shíà fàndə́kənyí.	*When I went I did not meet him.*
Àwòwá Kànùríbè ngə́wù Yêrwàn dəgánàn kəlíòn tə́mànzə́à.	*He has hope of learning a lot of things about Kanuri while he lives in Yerwa.*
Ngáwò nyírò wú-à nyí-à Mákkàrò íshíyènbâ gùlngə́nàbèn ngámá wúà shíyàm?	*After I told you that you and I would not come to Mecca (together), why did you follow me?*

CHAPTER 24: NOMINAL CLAUSES AS SUBJECT, OBJECT AND OBLIQUE NP CONSTITUENTS

1. Introduction. It is the purpose of the present chapter to systematically describe and present all of the forms and functions of sentences occurring in NP positions, which will here be referred to as *nominal clauses*. The syntactic form of the various nominal clause types will be presented, and the clause types will be grouped according to the internal structure of the clause, the role that the nominal clause constituent plays in the main or matrix clause, and the role played by determiner and postpositional elements marking the clause-final position within the entire construction. It will be seen that the determiner element +də́ again plays an important role in the formation of nominal clauses, a role which can be related to its role in the structure of the complex NP described in the preceding chapter 23. It will also be observed that the indirect postposition +rò, in much the same way as its counterpart English prepositions *to* and *for*, functions as an apparent subordinator (or in this case a *complementizer of verb phrase complement nominal clauses*). The role of the conjunctive forms of the verb ngìn, which in certain verb phrase complement constructions may replace the complementizer +rò, will also be presented and analyzed.

2. Structural Characteristics of Constructions Containing Nominal Clauses. As would be expected, the canonical arrangement and position of nominal clauses in a matrix sentence follows naturally from the typological SOV characteristics of the language. Whether a nominal clause occurs as subject NP (as in the first example below), as object NP (as in the second example below), or as the object of the postposition (complementizer) (as in the third example below), it will normally precede the verbal or nonverbal predicate of the matrix clause.

Mə́ndè fânndérò ísə́nàdə́yè wúà àjàpkə́nò.	*That he came to our house last year amazed me.*
Álì Mákkàrò lèjîndə́ kàsànngə̂nyí.	*I don't accept/agree that Ali is going to Mecca.*
Àmmá búltù dâdə́ bârò súrùnyí.	*But the hyena did not see that the meat was not there.*

For certain matrix clause verbs which take nominal clauses marked by the indirect postposition +rò, one will frequently hear utterances in which the matrix verb is in construction-initial position, with the nominal clause postposed as in the following example. This is of course in violation of the SOV structure of the language. The same observation is made in chapter 27 with regard to clauses of reason and purpose, also subordinated by +rò.

Tə̀màngə́nà kə̀léwà sə́láilàn zə̀mnə́mmàrò.	*I hope/expect that you landed/arrived perfectly safely.*
Kə̀léwà sə́láilàn zə̀mnə́mmàrò tə̀màngə́nà.	*I hope/expect that you landed/arrived perfectly safely.*

Since the verbal noun is the only nonfinite form of the verb which is common to all of the verbs of the language, it occurs in a variety of nominal clause types, including both those which correspond to infinitival NP complements in English, and those which correspond to gerundive NP complements, as shown in the following examples.

Nyíà mátònə́m làdòrò gàlàwə́nò.	*S/He advised you to sell your car.*
Mákkàrò lètə́nzə́də́ àndíà shìwòlzə̂nyi.	*His going to Mecca did not bother us.*

All of the nominal clause types thus far introduced, and others, are introduced and analyzed in the following sections.

3. Nominal Clauses Characterized by a Nonfinite Verb Form (Verbal Noun). Most of the nominal clauses treated in this section are characterized by a verbal noun functioning as the verb form of the nominal clause, followed by the indirect postposition +rò. Most of them will lend themselves to intrepretation in English by infinitival clauses introduced by *to*, such as *I hope to go*. In such constructions, the subject of the matrix clause may be identical to the subject of the nominal clause, as in the following examples.

Músà àndíà lèfàtə́rò njéskònò.	*Musa forgot to greet us.*
Álì Mákkàrò lètə́rò májìn.	*Ali is trying/wants to go to Mecca.*
Wàjísó shíà kùrûrò ngə̀nə̀tə́kə́nà.	*I made an effort to see him every day.*

For different types of main clause verbs which do not occur in the above type of construction, a subject or object NP from the nominal clause may also function as the direct object of the matrix clause, as in the following examples.

Nyíà mátònə́m làdòrò gàlàwónò.	*S/He advised you to sell your car.*
Shíà lìítàyè ngàltə́rò kòlwókò.	*I left/allowed him to be examined by the doctor.*

For a few of the main clause verbs, the postposition +rò may be optional, as in the following example.

Bə́rì kə̀mbû(rò) bàdìwónò.	*S/He started to eat food.*

The verb rák+ *be able, can* must also be included in this section since it takes nonfinite verb forms in nominal clauses. In this case however, the postposition may not occur on the nominal clause.

Kâmyè létə́ rákcìnbâ.	*He cannot tolerate being touched by people.*

The syntactic structure of the nominal clause is very often dictated by the type of verb occurring as the main verb in the matrix clause. Verbs that productively occur with nominal clauses having a nonfinite verb form marked by the indirect postposition are very often verbs of intention, purpose, and emotion. All of the following main verbs may productively occur with the nominal clause type here under consideration.

verb root	*meaning*
ángàl gə̀ná+	*be careful (to)*
bàdì+	*begin, start (to)*
báná+	*help (to)*
cís+ *II*	*take care of, worry about*
gàlà+	*advise, counsel (to)*
dàmè+ *III*	*take the trouble (to)*
dàp+	*refuse, not allow (to)*
kàsàt+	*accept, agree (to)*
kòl+	*leave, let, allow (to)*
làmbì+ *III*	*be concerned about, have a desire (to)*
má+	*look for, try, want (to)*
màngə̀r+	*desire, strive (to)*
mòwòn+	*be possible (to) (+neg = impossible)*
náp+ *I*	*decide (to)*
njés+	*forget (to)*
nò+	*know how (to)*
ngódó+	*implore (to)*
ngə̀nə̀p+ *III*	*take the trouble (to)*
nyà+	*intend, plan (to)*
ràì+, fàì+, lèìlèì+	*convince, persuade (to)*

verb root	*meaning*
rák+	*be able (to)*
rí+	*be afraid (to)*
shìwòl+ *III*	*take the trouble, bother (to)*
tàk+	*remember (to)*
tə̀mà+	*hope, think, expect (to)*
wá+	*dislike, not want (to)*
wàdə̀+, wádə̀ gó+	*promise, vow (to)*
zə̀k+ *III*	*try, attempt, trouble o.s. (to)*

Nonfinite nominal clauses of the gerundive type, in which the verbal noun may be followed by a genitival nominal of some kind plus the determiner element +də́, are treated together with other nominal clauses marked by this determiner element in section 4.2 below.

It should be pointed out that infinitival nominal clauses with the matrix verb *want* are not always best expressed by the construction type here under consideration. The matrix verb má+ literally *look for* but translated in the above list as *try, want* also, may be used for this purpose (as was shown in an earlier example repeated here).

Mákkàrò lètə́rò májìn.	*He is trying/wants to go to Mecca.*

Most Kanuri speakers would however prefer a totally different kind of construction to express this notion. Therefore one will more often hear this expressed with the matrix verb ràw+ *want, like, love* preceded by an associative-subordinated clause in the VEC verb aspect. Subordinate clauses of this type are described in detail in chapter 31.

Bə́rì bûkíà ràákə́nà.	*I want to eat.*
Mákkàrò lèjíà sə̀ràgə́nà.	*He wants to go to Mecca.*

3.1. Nonfinite Nominal Clauses Marked by the Postposition +(là+)n and Followed by a Nonverbal Main Clause Predicate. In constructions of this type the verbal noun or a closely related lexical noun occurs in the nominal clause and is marked by the locative/means/instrument postposition +(là+)n. Here the main clause is nonverbal and consists of a NP marked by the associative postposition, and constitutes a nonverbal predicate of existence of the type presented in chapter V.16. This construction type contains a nominal clause which functions in a nonverbal environment and therefore does not fill any of the roles of major or oblique NP constituent in a verbal sentence. The following are typical examples.

Àwòwá ngə́wù kə̀lîon tə́mànzə́à.	*He has hope of/in learning many things.*
Àwòwá ngə́wù kə̀lîon tə́màà.	*There is hope in learning many things.*
Yêrwàn cìdàtə̂n nyânzə́à.	*He has the intention of working in Yerwa.*
Sàndíà kùrûn támtàmnyíà.	*I take pleasure in seeing them.*

4. Nominal Clauses Characterized by a Finite Verb Form. All of the nominal clause types treated in this section are characterized by a verb phrase bearing a finite verb form. Those nominal clauses of this type functioning as subject NPs may be marked by the agent postposition +yè in certain occurrences; those functioning as object NPs may be marked by the associative postposition in certain occurrences; those verb phrase complement NPs which are not syntactic direct objects are marked by the oblique postposition +rò, which marking may be a function of the form of the lexical entry of the verbs occurring as main clause predicates, i.e. that they require marking of complements by the indirect postposition +rò.

4.1. Nominal Clauses with a Finite Verb Form Marked by the Postposition +rò. For constructions of the type here under consideration, the finite verb form of the nominal clause is followed obligatorily and uniquely by the postposition +rò. In general it can be said that the main clause verbs which are characteristic of this construction type are verbs of cognition, emotion, and expectation, etc. A significant percentage of the verbs observed here are the same as those observed with a nonfinite nominal clause in section 3 above. The following are typical examples.

Kúngənànyí ndàlzə́nàrò zànngə́nà.	*I suspect that he stole my money.*
Íshìnrò təmàngə́nà.	*I think he is coming.*
Təmàngə́nà íshìnrò.	*I think he is coming.*
Àwòwá sàndə̂nyí ányì sámmásórò nyímá túwórəmìnrò təmàngə́nà.	*I think that you are asking yourself about all of these inappropriate things.*
Kə́mə́ndè cídà ádə̀ tàmòzâirò tə̀màzánà.	*They think that they will finish this work this year.*
Tájírwàn bàwòjînrò təmàwónò.	*He thought he would die in the accident.*
Kə́mə́ndè Mákkàrò lèjînrò nápsə́gə́nà.	*He decided he will go to Mecca this year.*
Ráksə̀ Kànùrí mànàjînrò yàsàrákə́nà.	*I believe he can speak Kanuri.*
Álì kâm ásúzə́nàrò təmàzə̂nyí.	*Ali didn't think anyone had noticed.*
Ndúmá ásúzə̀nyírò təmàzə́nà.	*He thought no one had noticed.*
Cídà májìnrò tànggə́nà.	*I recalled he was looking for work.*
Təmàngə́nà Yêrwàrò lèngíà wúrò zùwàzâirò.	*I think they will send it to me when I go to Yerwa.*
Təmàngə́nà dímìnnà kàrgâmrò.	*I think you are in the process of doing it.*
Wú kəlânyîn ísə́mìnrò góngə́nà.	*I took it into my mind that you were coming.*
Dùlìwásò bərì sàwàndánàrò cískə́kò.	*I took care to see that the children got food.*
Lèngə́nàrò təmàzə́nà.	*He thinks that I went/have gone.*
Àmmá sàndí sààsâirò yíkə̀nyí.	*But I didn't think they would flee/escape.*
Dágə̀lyè zàzə́rmà shímá kádúzə̀rò ásújí.	*The monkey noticed that it was the leopard who was following.*
Ndárá lèjînrò shíà cúwórùkò.	*I asked him where he was going.*
Lèjîn lá lèjînbârò shíà cúwórùkò.	*I asked him whether he was going or not.*
Shírò yíkə́nà lá yíkə̀nyírò kàrùrùtə̀kə́nà.	*I am not sure whether I gave it to him or not.*
yíwùkìn rá yíwùkìnbârò shíà shàwàrókò.	*I consulted him as to whether I should buy it or not.*

Among the main verbs taking finite nominal clauses plus +rò is a small group which regularly are produced with such finite clauses in the subjunctive. It includes verbs of insistence, persuasion, and warning, as is apparent in the following examples.

Shíà ràingə́nà wàndé Mákkàrò lèzə̂nyírò.	*I convinced him that he should not go to Mecca.*
Mâiyè jàmânzə́ bàrìtə́gə́nà wàndé kwárà kòlzânyírò.	*The king warned his people that they should not leave bush fires.*
Kàzállàyè kúngə́nàdə́ ndàlzárò sàndíà gàlàwónò.	*The official advised them that they should steal the money.*

The following is a list of main clause verbs which have been observed in this role governing nominal clauses characterized by a finite verb form, and followed by the indirect postposition +rò. It will be noted that a number of them have already been observed as main clause verbs to nonfinite nominal clauses marked by +rò.

verb root	*meaning*
àngə̀r+	*deny*
ású+ *III*	*notice, realize, recognize*
bàrì+	*urge, demand*
bàyèn+	*explain*

verb root	*meaning*
cís+ *II*	*take care*
fə́lé+	*show*
gàlà+	*advise, counsel*
hàiyà+	*figure out, verify, ascertain*
kə̀lân gó+	*get it into one's head*
kór+	*ask*
màgì+	*implore*
mbə́rsá+	*complain*
náp+	*decide*
nàshín+	*dream*
ngódó+	*beg*
nò+	*know, find out*
yàsàrá+	*believe*
rài+, fài+, lèilèi+	*convince, persuade*
rí+	*fear*
rùrù+ *III*	*be unsure, be in doubt*
shàk+ *III*	*doubt*
shàwàr+	*consult*
tàk+	*remember, recall*
tàwàt+	*confirm, verify, be sure*
tə̀mà+	*think, expect, hope*
tə́mà yìkkò	*express hope*
wàdə̀+, wádə̀ gó+	*promise*
yáá+	*worry*
zàn+	*suspect*

4.2. Finite and Nonfinite Nominal Clauses Marked by the Determiner Element +də́. There is a relatively small group of main clause verbs whose nominal clause complements with finite verb forms, whether followed by the oblique postposition +rò or by a major constituent postposition (i.e. the agent or the associative (direct object) postposition), all allow the occurrence of the determiner element +də́ (and sometimes also the demonstrative determiner ádə̀) in nominal clause-final position. The same class of main clause verbs, and some nonverbal predicates as well, may also take nonfinite nominal clauses also marked by the same determiner elements. For this reason, the latter group of nonfinite nominal clause types is also presented in this section.

The role played by the determiner element +də́ in nominal clauses of the type here under consideration is significant in that it is related to its similar occurrence in NP- and complex NP-final position (as observed in chapters 19 and 23), its occurrence in the cleft NP construction (as observed in chapter 26), and its occurrence in certain reason adverbial clauses (chapter 27) as well as in certain associative-subordinated adverbial clauses (chapter 31). With regard to the complex NP, it was observed that this anaphoric determiner element functions to definitize the second occurrence of ant NP, i.e. rel NP, within the restrictive relative clause and to delimit the boundary of the entire complex NP. When it occurs in the same position after a nominal clause, it does not have the same anaphoric definitizing function in relation to an ant NP, but rather in relation to an entire situation within the utterance context. Its interpretation in this role is normally relatable to what some classifiers have referred to as *factive*, i.e. that the action described by such a nominal clause actually happened, and is a fact, and that the underlying structure of such a nominal clause might even have its own ant NP which would be the equivalent of the noun *the fact*. Compare the following complex NP with the nominal clause construction which follows it.

Kâm lèzə́nàdə́(à) ásúwòkò.	*I recognized the person who had gone.*
Lèzə́nàdə́rò ásúwòkò.	*I realized that s/he had gone.*

It is clear that the determiner element is performing the anaphoric definitizing function in both of these examples, and that the latter, with no overt or omitted ant NP, is interpreted factually in the context. As will be observed, certain of the main clause verbs occurring in nominal clause constructions of this type have also been observed as occurring in those which do not take the determiner element. According to the present analysis, the nominal clauses occurring as complements to such verbs must be interpreted factively when followed by this determiner element. Observe the semantic difference between the following two examples.

Kámúnzə́ sùlùwúnàdə́rò njèskónò.	*He forgot that his wife had gone out.*
Lùwòrò njèskónò.	*He forgot to go out.*

The first of these examples can only be interpreted factively, and the second only nonfactively. In the latter example, the determiner element +də́ may not occur.

The following are examples of finite nominal clauses marked by the determiner element +də́. In some cases the clauses function as major constituents (i.e. as subject or object NPs), and in others they are marked by the indirect (oblique) postposition +rò.

Fántà sə̀ràgə̂nyídə́rò ndúsóyè nòzə́nà.	*That he does not like Fanta is known by everyone.*
Tádà mâibè zòlìzə́nàdə́ fètèzə́nà.	*That the king's son had gone crazy became obvious.*
Tádà mâibè zòlìzə́nàdə́ fèté.	*That the king's son has gone crazy is obvious.*
Wúà sə̀ràgə̂nyídə́ shêgə̀ bâ.	*There is no doubt that s/he doesn't like me.*
Álìyè Fántà ísə́nàdə́rò njèskónò.	*Ali forgot that Fanta had arrived.*
Am bówózánàdə́bè láánzádə́ kǎusùà záwìnbâdə́rò njèskádà.	*They forgot that some of the people that they had invited do not eat during the day (i.e. were fasting).*
Íshìnbâdə́rò tàwàtsə́gə́nà.	*He confirmed that he was not coming.*
Búltù kə̀ngâl yùkkùrùwòrò májìndə́à cúrûnnyâ, kə̀nyérìrò, "Dândérò cískə́gə́né dùwô lèngê kánnú rúkìn túdù gôngè kûkké.	*When the hyena saw that the sun was about to go down, he said to the squirrel, "Take care of the meat while I go and get that fire that I see over there."*

In the following examples the nominal clause is similarly marked by the determiner, though the nominal clause contains a nonfinite verb form.

Tábà kə̀nzânzə́də́ wángə́nà.	*I dislike his smoking cigarettes.*
Mánàndérò cî yìkkònzə́də́ ángàlnyí zázə́nà/wúà wársə́nà.	*His butting into our conversation really upset me/burned me up.*
Kánòrò lètə́nzə́ bískàbèdə́ mbû gə̀nyí.	*His going to Kano yesterday was not necessary.*
Búltù lèzə̂ gúrzàm fál tə́mgònò. Tə́mtə́nzə́ ádə̀ gànámárò gúrzàmmà yìtàyáázə́gə̂nyí.	*The hyena went and threw over one of the big men. That his throwing him over did not frighten the big man in the least.*
Álìbè kàsô bânzə́də́yè yânzə́à àjàpsô.	*Ali's not running away amazed his mother.*

The following is a list of main clause verbs which have been observed as typical of those governing nominal clauses with either a finite or a nonfinite verb form, and marked by the determiner element +də́ in nominal clause-final position, whether the clause constitutes a major or an oblique NP constituent. A small group of nonverbal main clause predicates that also occur in constructions of this type are included.

verb	*meaning*
àjàp+	*amaze, astound, surprise*
ású+	*realize, recognize*
ángàl+*POS* **zá+**	*be upset, irritated*
dàmè+	*bother, irritate, trouble*
shìwòl+	*bother, irritate, trouble*
fètè+	*become clear or obvious*
kàsàt+	*accept, agree*
kùrnò+ *III*	*rejoice, be glad*
làmbì+ *III*	*be concerned*
nàdìm+ *III*	*be sorry, regret*
nò+	*know, find out*
kàrə́gə̀+*POS* **kùttù+**	*become sad, regret*
njès+	*forget*
tàk+	*remember, recall*
tàwàt+	*confirm*
wá+	*reject, dislike*
wár+	*irritate, burn up*
zə̀k+	*worry, annoy, bother*

nonverbal predicate	*meaning*
shêgə̀ bâ	*there is no doubt*
fèté	*it is clear*
kàrə́gə̀+*POS* **kúttù**	*be sad*
kàrə́gə̀+*POS* **kə̀jí**	*be happy*
kàrùrùtí+*POS* **bâ**	*have no doubt*
zâurò ngə́là	*be very good*
zâurò díwì	*be very bad*

5. The Role of the Conjunctive Forms of the Verb ngìn in Nominal Clause-Final Position. As a main clause verb in its own right, the verb ngìn *say, think* may govern finite nominal clauses including both direct and indirect quotations. In this role nothing occurs in nominal clause-final position, neither determiner nor postposition, as shown here.

"Ískìnƀâ", wònò.	*He said, "I will not come."*
Íshìnbâ wònò.	*He said he isn't coming.*
Sàndírò "Fátòrò lènówó!", wònò.	*He said to them, "Go home!"*
Sàndírò fátòrò lèzâ wònò.	*He told them they should go home.*
Ísə́mìnbâ ngə̀nà.	*I did not think you were coming.*
Nàndí sámmá bâ ngè.	*I did not think any of you were there.*
Kúngə́nànə́m fàndə́mmà ngè.	*I hope you have found your money.*
Shí zâurò cìdàmá gàdà.	*They say/It is said he is a very good worker.*

It is frequently the case in quotation environments, like in some of the above examples, that a matrix verb of quotation other than the verb ngìn occurs in construction-final position. In such direct quotation environments, such a main verb is always (apparently) redundantly preceded by the conjunctive form of the verb ngìn which agrees with that finite main verb in identity of subject reference. The paradigm of the conjunctive forms of this verb are presented here for reference purposes.

1S	ngè	*1P*	nyè
2S	nə̀m	*2P*	nə̀u
3S	sə̀	*3P*	sà

Observe the following variants of one example in which the main clause verb is gùl+ *say*.

Jìlwáyè kókórò, "Ádə̀ rángə̀m dîmbâ." sə̀ gùlwónò.	*The rat said to the frog, "You cannot do this."*
Kókórò, "Ádə̀ rángnə̀m dîmbâ." sə̀ jìlwáyè gùlwónò.	*same*
Jìlwáyè kókórò gùlwónà, "Ádə̀ rángnə̀m dîmbā" sə̀.	*same*

In each of the possible variant orders for the above example, it is always the case that the conjunctive form of the verb ngìn occurs immediately after the quotational nominal clause complement sentence. The indirect postposition +rò as subordinator and complementizer has these same characteristics, even when non-SOV order variation is possible.

In section 4.1 above, the verb kór+ *ask* was cited as one of the main clause verbs governing finite nominal clauses marked by the indirect postposition +rò. When kór+ functions as the main verb to a nominal clause that is a direct quotation, then only the conjunctive form of the verb ngìn may occur in nominal clause-final position. In other than direct quotation environments, as with those environments described in 4.1 above, either the postposition +rò or the conjunctive form of the verb ngìn may occur in nominal clause-final position, as shown here.

"Àbí dímìn?"	ngè Álìà cúwórùkò.	*I asked Ali, "What are you doing?"*
	nə̀m Álìà cúwórə̀m.	*You asked Ali, "What are you doing?"*
	sə̀ Álìà cúwórò.	*S/He asked Ali, "What are you doing?"*
	nyè Álìà cúwórìyè.	*We asked Ali, "What are you doing?"*
	nə̀u Álìà cúwórə̀u.	*You asked Ali, "What are you doing?"*
	sà Álìà cówórò.	*They asked Ali, "What are you doing?"*
Ndárá lèjîn ngè shíà cúwórùkò.		*I asked him where he was/is going.*
Ndárá lèjînrò shíà cúwórùkò.		*I asked him where he was/is going.*
Nâ lèjînrò shíà cúwórùkò.		*I asked him (as to) the place/where he*
*Nâ lèjîn ngè shíà cúwórùkò.		*was/is going.*

It is clear from the last example above that the conjunctive form of the verb ngìn and the indirect postposition +rò are freely interchangeable in this position with the verb kór+ as long as the nominal clause is an indirect question.

Lukas (1936:48) observed that the conjunctive forms of the verb ngìn may function as "a means of subordination" and cited the following pair of examples.

Wúà wápsə̀gìn ngè zâurò yáángə́nà.	*I was very much afraid that it would throw me down.*
Kə̀mbûnyí mângìn ngè fânnyîn cùlúwùkò.	*I went out of my house with the intention of looking for food.*

If the conjunctive verb form in these examples were to be literally translated on the basis of its normally documented uses, then the above examples would be translated as *I thought it would throw me down and I was afraid* and *I thought I would look for food and I went out of my house*, respectively. For examples like this, it is likely that either the literal conjunctive interpretation or the nominal clause type of interpretation is appropriate. The postposition +rò may not be freely substituted for the conjunctive verb form in such examples. The interpretations would seem to contradict the truth value of the nominal clause complement since both examples seem to imply intentions which were unrealized, fears that were unwarranted. The later example has the following purpose clause counterpart with a nonfinite verb form plus the indirect postposition. Here the interpretation is noncommital as to whether the intention was realized or not.

Kə̀mbûnyí mátə́rò fânnyìn cùlúwùkò.	*I left my house in order to look for food.*

The following set of examples are presented in order to show the various ways in which the conjunctive forms of the verb ngìn may function as apparent subordinators or complementizers in the final position after adverbial and nominal clauses. The literal conjunctive translations for these examples are not given. Whenever a counterpart construction with the indirect postposition is possible, it is shown with its appropriate translation.

Câ nyírò gùlngə́nà ngè/*rò kàrgákò.	*I kept on thinking that I had told you before.*
Ngái ngè kàrgákò.	*I kept on thinking it was that way.*
Íshìnbâ sə kàrgâ yàyé, dólènzə íshîn.	*Even if she goes on thinking she won't come, she has to come.*
Ndárá lèjín sə kàrgâ?	*Where does he think he is going?*
Mákkàrò lèngîn ngè tíkètìnyí káiwùkò.	*I bought my ticket thinking I was going to Mecca.*
Mákkàrò lèngîn nànkàrò tíkètìnyí káiwùkò.	*I bought my ticket because I was going to Mecca.*
Mákkàrò lètə́rò tíkètìnyí káiwùkò.	*I bought my ticket in order to go to Mecca.*
Ngô, àwó ádə̀ wánéè cìràâm ngè dé cúwúdùkò.	*Here is this thing I brought thinking maybe you would like it.*
Nûin sə báràmrò cùkkùrô.	*He fell into the well thinking he would die.*
Cídà ádə̀ wángə́nà ngè lèwókò.	*I went away saying/thinking that I hated this work.*
Cídà ádə̀ wángə́nà nànkàrò lèwókò.	*I went away because I hated this work.*
Mátònyí tùllə̀kíà bə̀lîn ngè làdə́kìn.	*When I have washed my car I will say/pretend it is new and sell it.*
Mátònyí tùllə̀kíà bə̀lînrò làdə́kìn.	*When I have washed by car I will sell it as new.*
Kànànzə̂r sà gózài.	*They will think it is kerosene and take it.*
Kànànzə̂rrò gózài.	*They will take it for/as kerosene.*

In a nominal clause complement construction, the conditions which must prevail in order for a conjunctive form of the verb ngìn to occur in nominal clause-final position are: 1) the verb form of the nominal clause must be finite, 2) there can be no determiner element in nominal clause-final position, i.e. the clause may not have a factive interpretation, 3) there must be identity of reference between the subject of the conjunctive ngìn verb form and the subject of the main clause verb, and 4) very often the interpretation of such constructions must be one that contradicts the action of the nominal clause, or implies that it is not realized. The application of these conditions is apparent in the following examples.

Lìítàyè shíà ngàltə́rò/*ngè shíà gàlàwókò.	*I advised him to be checked by the doctor.*
Lìítàyè shíà ngàlzə́rò/ngè shíà gàlàwókò.	*I advised him that he should be checked by the doctor.*
Fántà ísə́nàdə́rò/*sə njèskónò.	*He forgot that Fanta had arrived.*
Fántà ísə́nàrò/sə tə̀màwónò.	*He thought that Fanta had arrived.*
Fə̂rnzə́làn íshìnrò/ngè tə̀màwókò.	*I thought he was coming on his horse.*

In such constructions, when +rò occurs, the imperfect aspect of the verb in the nominal clause is best interpreted as future. When the conjunctive ngìn verb form occurs, the same verb form is best interpreted as conditional. Thus the latter form is used to contradict fact, and the former is neutral in this regard.

Wúà wápsə̀gìnrò zâurò yáángə́nà.	*I am afraid that he will throw me down.*
Wúà wápsə̀gìn ngè zâurò yáángə́nà.	*I had feared that he would throw me down.*
Fə̂rnzə́làn íshìnrò tə̀màwókò.	*I expect he will come on his horse.*
Fə̂rnzə́làn íshìn ngè tə̀màwókò.	*I (had) thought he would come on his horse.*

CHAPTER 25: NOUN PHRASE (NP) STATUS MARKING

1. Introduction. According to the present analysis, a NP has neutral or unmarked semantic and syntactic status when it occurs in its canonical position according to the SOV typology of the language, with no marking other than that required by its function within a sentence (e.g. oblique postpositional marking of an oblique NP). This neutral unmarked status is evidenced in different ways for different NP types, and may also be a function of sentence type. For example, in a verbal sentence like e.g. Lèzánà. *They have gone.*, the neutral status of the subject NP is indicated by there being no independent occurrence of the subject pronoun. The subject pronoun of lèzánà is carried within the finite verb form in its enclitic pronoun form. The neutral status of the same pronoun subject in a nonverbal sentence like e.g. Sàndí bàrèwú. *They are farmers.*, is apparent from the independent occurrence of the subject pronoun sàndí, with no further postposed marking of that pronoun for its *status* in the sentence. Proper nouns as subjects in the same two sentences, like sàndí in the nonverbal sentence, have neutral unmarked status when they occur alone, with no postposed marking for status, i.e. Álì-à Músà-à lèzánà. *Ali and Musa have gone.* and Álì-à Músà-à bàrèwú. *Ali and Musa are farmers.* NPs occurring in oblique postpositional phrases are obligatorily marked for function by one of the postpositions, e.g. the locative, the instrumental, etc., and their neutral unmarked status in that function is made clear by their occurring in their canonical typological position, and by there being no postposed marking of the NP for status, only the oblique postposition. Like postpositions, markers of NP status are similarly postposed constituents which follow their governing head NP. Unlike postpositions however, these markers do not mark NPs for grammatical function and therefore cannot change the syntactic status of a NP constituent.

The terms *NP status* and *NP status marker* (see Chafe, 1976:27) are here being used in order to clarify the variety of cognitive roles played by the Kanuri NP. As a reflection of their statistical occurrence, the present chapter will center on the major constituent NPs, i.e. subject and object NPs. The semantic roles played by these NPs when marked by the various status markers are examined with regard to their relative prominence in the sentence; reference to the discourse context will often be necessary to clarify these roles.

Kanuri has basically three different ways in which it can alter the status of a major constituent NP from the neutral unmarked status described above. The three are by no means mutually exclusive and frequently two or more of them may function together to alter the cognitive status of a NP. The three different ways are: 1) marking with a NP status marker, 2) NP movement, usually leftward and frequently to construction-initial position (which may be accompanied by postpositional marking of major NP constituents as already described on pp. 211-16), and 3) prosodic marking through the use of accentual stress and/or a pause. A speaker uses these three ways to mark a given NP for special semantic status in a sentence, a semantic status which may or may not be corroborated by syntactic change in other parts of the sentence. Such corroboration may be indicated by the occurrence of certain verb aspects which are required to match the status of the NP, or by marking of the predicate of a sentence to match the status of the subject NP, as is the case with the cleft NP construction fully described in chapter 26. As described there, the status of the subject NP of a cleft NP construction is indicated through the application of the emphatic particle +má, the yes-no question marker wá, the negative of identification gə̀nyí, or a combination of the last two to produce negative questioning of that subject NP. Any of these may function as status markers to create the environment for the cleft NP construction, and require that the clefted predicate corroborate this semantic status through the occurrence of the predicating particle wò.

A rather broad spectrum of NP markers affecting NP status is treated in the present chapter. Among those treated are the determiner elements (both +də́ and the demonstratives), and a group of adverbial adjuncts to the noun. One postposition, the associative postposition, is also treated here for its role as a NP status marker. All share the common characteristic that when applied to the subject NP of a verbal sentence, they result in the independent pronominal manifestation of that subject NP, thus clearly distinguishing it in status from its normal unmarked occurrence as an enclitic pronoun within the finite verb form, as described above.

2. The Role of the Determiner Elements in NP Status Marking. In both anaphoric and deictic functions, the determiner +də́ and the four demonstratives (ádə̀, túdù, ányì, túnyì) may be used in the role of NP status markers. In this role they may mark construction-initial NPs, or left shifted/fronted NPs as topics. Those that function anaphorically may indicate a resumptive topic NP, recalled from an earlier point in the discourse or conversational context. NPs marked in this way for topic status, may be followed by a pause as shown in the following examples. One can be sure that the determiner elements are playing this status marking role when they are applied to an already fully-specified NP so that their interpretation as determiners in either a deictic or anaphoric function would seem redundant. For example when a determiner is applied to a proper noun or to a noun already fully specified with a suffixed possessive pronoun, then that determiner is functioning as a status marker, according to the analysis presented here. The determiner element +də́ is certainly the most common determiner to function in this role, as is attested in the examples.

Cînyídə́(,) lílímjìn.	*This mouth of mine, it is itching.*
Álìdə́(,) kâm ngə́làmá gə̀nyí.	*That Ali, he is not a good person.*
Wúdə́(,) kə̀jî fàngînbâ.	*Me, I don't feel good.*
Âm lárdə̀ ádə̀bèdə́(,) zâurò sótò nòzánà.	*The people of this country, they really know hospitality.*
Fáidà àwónzə́ sə̀də́nàdə́bèdə́(,) tái dàzə̂ fə̀làngónò.	*The use of his thing that he did, it really became apparent.*
Kərmádə́ sûi.	*For right now that's enough.*
Kûdə́ cìdàngînbâ.	*As for today I won't work.*
Fáidànzə́də́(,) lámbònzə́làn kàrgâ.	*(That) it's useful part, is in its leaves.*
Fìfìtàdə́(,) cídíà dúnòàrò sə̀dîn.	*This fertilizing with manure, it makes the soil strong.*
Wú ádə̀ lèngînbâ.	*As for me I am not going.*
"Ngô tái"də́, zâurò fàntə́rò kə̀jî.	*That "Here go ahead and take it", it is very nice to hear. (refers to s.o. giving sth to s.o.)*
Díwàl àdînbè kòltə́də́, zâurò ngə́là gə̀nyí.	*The leaving of the path of religion, it is not very good.*

The determiner element +də́ has been described as an anaphoric determiner. While its role in setting off the topic of a proverb does not clearly fit into this description, it is nevertheless clear that proverbs are used in appropriate situations within the discourse context where their meaning appropriately applies to something already mentioned. Therefore in proverbs whether or not the NPs marked for topic status with +də́ have been previously referred to, the +də́ is apparently anaphoric to the discourse context which produced the appropriate environment for the use of the proverb. The following proverbs exhibit the same structure that is here under consideration, though they are unfortunately presented in isolation.

Kə̀mágə̀ndə́, kémìnə́mbè yàyérò, ngúlùdə́má gùllé wò nyâ, wàndé kúttùdə́ gùllə̂mí.	*When it comes to honey, even if it belongs to your co-wife, you should only say that it is not a full pot, but never that it is bad.*
Káshí-à sáwà-àdə́, fátòn góné.	*Provisions and a companion, get them before you travel.*
Nàjásà súrôn kòltə́də́, kùrwûn kə̀nâbèrò wáljìnbâ.	*The holding back of a bowel movement, it does nothing to ease one's hunger.*
Kə̀lánjìdə́, kúlì tádàbè gə̀nyí.	*The scorpion, it is not a child's insect.*

In the following proverb the main clause-initial topic is preceded by a subordinate adverbial clause.

Dìnâdə́má dìnàyí yàyé, kàlìímòdə́ tə́mmárò njê tìlóyè déjìnbâ.	*No matter how worldly this very world may become, the camel will never be cooked by a single cooking pot.*

In some of the above examples and proverbs, the initial topic may be represented in the following clause by an enclitic pronoun on a finite verb form, or simply resumptively understood in the context. In the following examples and proverbs, the dislocation of the topic is even more explicitly expressed since there is an overt resumptive pronoun copy of the topic (i.e. either an independent personal pronoun or a suffixed possessive pronoun) in the clause which follows.

Kwângâdə́, wàndé àshírnzə́ kámúyè nòzə̂nyí.	*The husband, his secrets should not become known by his wife.*
Kámú túdù, shímá cárìrò mánà gùlzō.	*That woman, SHE said some talk to the old man.*
Kâmrò 'àwó láá njékò' gùltə́də́, shímá wádə̀ Álàbè gòtà wò.	*That saying to someone 'I will give you something', it is that that is taking a promise to God.*
Ndú yàyé kâm ángàllàdə́, shí dòndìjíà lìítàbèrò lètə́ cìràwō.	*No matter who that is a person who is smart, when he gets sick he wants to go to the doctor's.*
Gàrgâm jílì kúngə́nàbè fàltə́bèdə́, shíà kə́ryèndé Nìjéríyàbè ádə̀làn gámìn gámmà, àwó kàdá fòdùnə́mìn.	*This the history of changing money systems, if you pursue it in this our country of Nigeria, you will discover many many things.*

The following are proverbs, of the same construction type.

Jírèdə́, shí kúlwú kàlíìbè.	*The truth, it is a gown of thorns.*
Kə̀lâdə́, shí kálwò gə̀nyí.	*The head, it does not make a good container.*
Kànádídə́, shímá kàlə̂m kùwíbèà ngátcìn.	*(That) patience, it alone cleans out the chicken's intestines.*

Bə́là kə̀mbùwábèn, kâm shîm fállàdə́, shímá mâi wò.	*In the village of the blind, the man with one eye, it is he who is king.*
Fê sə̀nsə́ngə̀də́, sâbí yàyérò tólò núwànzə́ wò.	*The choosy cow, no matter what (when) the muddy water will be it's lot in life.*

In the following examples again, a determiner element marks a NP for topic status. Here however a pronoun copy of the topicalized NP precedes the NP plus determiner. Thus both pronoun and NP are together dislocated from the following clause. This pattern is essentially the reverse of that observed in the preceding example set.

Shí kámúdə́, ndúsóyè nòzə́nà.	*She that woman, is known by everyone.*
Shí Rábìdə́, zâumárò nòwátà.	*He that Rabi, he is very well known.*
Sâdə́mân shí tádà tàláàbèdə́, sə̀gàshînnà gózə̀ cárìbèrò súwúdò.	*Right then he the son of the poor man, running he took it and brought it to the old man's.*
Shí kúlì bə́rmə́tə̀ ádə̀(,) kàngê tólùmmà kâmrò súwúdìn.	*It this insect the flea, can give people recurrent fevers.*
Nyí cî fálrò yìkkònyímá tîmídə́ yé wúà kə̀mbû ngə́wùn kónə́mmà nə̀m mànànə́mìn?	*And you who aren't even a mouthful for me, you are saying that you can eat more than I can?*

2.1. Nominalized Clauses as Topics Marked by Determiners. As will be shown in this section, entire sentences with either finite or nonfinite verb forms may be dislocated by the determiner elements when in construction-initial position. They essentially function the same as the NP topics set off in this way, that have been observed thus far. They set the scene for the information which is to follow and often anaphorically refer to an ongoing action or situation. One is reminded very much of the nominal clauses which were described in the preceding chapter 24. These nominalized clauses differ from them in that they are not syntactically integrated into the structure of the following main clause; they are dislocated and function neither as major nor as oblique constituents in that clause.

Ábànə́m bə́làn bâdə́, sàmbí kádìo?	*(You say) that your father is not in town, well when did he come back?*
Dòndìzə́nà nârò lèjînbâdə́, kû sáànzə́.	*(Since) that he became ill and has not been able to go anywhere, today it has been about a year.*
Búltù súrìnsôn, âm ányì shíà kòlzâiwâdə́, rûnzə́ sàwàrtə̂ bə̀rtə̂ kàráàrò kàrgàwô.	*Each time the hyena looked, (given) that these people would not let him go, he ran off into the bush all alone.*
Kámúyè shírò, "Wúrò 'njî kə́rmámá kúdé' nə̀mìndə́, wú cîrnə́m wá? Wú yé kâmbê nyígǎi, wúrò yílsə̀gə̀mìndə́." wònò.	*The wife said to him, "(Given) that you keep saying to me 'bring me water right now', am I your slave? I too am a free person like you, that you keep on yelling at me."*

In the following example, such a nominalized clause occurs in final position but nevertheless seems to set the scene for the remark within the quotes from that position

Dàjí, wúyè shírò, "Tádàmà, àbí nyíà sə̀wàndô, yírə̀mìndə́?" wòkò.	*And then I said to him, "Young boy, what happened to you, that you are crying?"*

In the following example the nominalized clause has a nonfinite verbal noun. It is clearly separated though and functioning as a topic to set the scene for the following main clause.

Yêrwà kòllə́mìn nòtə́nyídə́, zâurò kàrə́gə̀nyí kúttù.	*(That) my finding out that you are leaving Yerwa, I am very sad.*

3. The Emphasis Marker +má as a NP Status Marker. The emphasis marker +má could as well be referred to as an emphatic adverbial adjunct, since this captures its wide range of functions in the language. A number of its uses have already been observed at various points in the present work and thus the present section will constitute an attempt to summarize all of its uses in the language, and to describe in detail those uses which qualify it as a NP status marker, for the purposes of the present chapter. All of its uses share the common feature of some form of emphasis on a given constituent or clause. Like many of the postpositions, markers, and particles of the language, the emphasis marker also takes on a wide range of meanings in translation, all of which are a function of the syntactic environment in which it occurs. It occurs in a broad range of environments, marking nouns and complete NPs, both when they occur as major constituents and when they occur obliquely within postpositional phrases. It may also be applied after oblique constituents, verb phrases, and subordinated adverbial clauses. The emphatic adverbial adjunct +má carries a great functional load in the language.

3.1. The Uses of the Emphasis Marker +má. The emphasis marker functions as an apparent nonaspect verbal (as described in chapter 16) in elliptical answers to questions like the following, emphasizing and singling out a NP.

Shí wá lèzô?	*Was it he who went?*
Àâ, shímá.	*Yes, it was he.*
Ndú?	*Who?*
Sàndímá.	*It's them.*
Wú gə̀nyí, Álìmá.	*It is not me, it is Ali.*
Ndásó kààné̀m?	*Which one is yours?*
Ádə̀má (shí wò).	*It's this (that is it)./That's it.*
Shídə́má.	*It's that one./That's the one.*

As an adjunct to the interrogative pronouns, the emphasis marker produced negative indefinite pronouns in negative environments (as described in chapter III.7).

Ndúmá bâ/báwò.	*There is no one at all.*
Shí ndúmá gə̀nyí.	*He is no one at all.*
Àbímá rúkə̀nyí.	*I didn't see anything at all.*
Ndárámá lèzânyí.	*They did not go anywhere.*

As an adjunct to adverbial nouns, the emphasis marker is very frequently used to emphasize them, especially with regard to the immediacy of temporal adverbial nouns.

Kə́rmámá kádìo.	*He just now came.*
Kə́rmádə́má lèngîn.	*I am going at this very moment/right now.*
Kúmá shíà cúrúkò.	*Just today I saw him.*

It functions similarly to emphasize other adverbial expressions and phrases like the following.

sâdə́mân	*right then/right at that time*
ádə̀márò	*THAT is why*
nâdə́mân	*right there/right at that place*
kàwú ádə̀márò	*even before that*
háttà kàwú nə́ngə́lì kójìnmân	*until even the rainy season passes*

The emphasis marker may also be used to emphasize certain adverbial clause types. This is especially true of those subordinated by the associative postposition, as observed in chapter 31.

Cìngíàmá lèngîn.	*As soon as/right when I get up, I will go.*

Lèngənàmân shíà fàndəkənyí.	*Even when went I did not meet him.*
Kádìnnyâmá shíà ásúwòkò.	*As soon as/right when he came I recognized him.*
wái wàjíàmá ...	*the first thing in the morning (as soon as the night has passed ...*
Lèzənàmá ákkǎimá.	*Even when he went that is how it was.*
Lèngînmáà fàndəkìnbâ.	*Even if I do go I won't find any.*
Shí bâmáà lèngîn.	*Even without him/Even if he is not there I will go.*

In the following example, the emphasis marker occurs after a conjunctive verb form and adds a concessive interpretation to this negative sentence.

Nòngêmá dàzənyí.	*I haven't even finished learning it./ I don't even know it all yet.*

3.2. NP Status Marking by the Emphasis Marker +má. In some of the environments that have already been cited, the emphasis marker may be interpreted concessively and often be translatable by *even*. Similarly, as a NP status marker, it may be interpreted concessively in certain environments, or as a NP focus marker in other environments. Syntactic environment is always crucial to how it is to be interpreted. Sentence structure and verb aspect play very important roles. In the first example below, it concessively emphasizes the subject of a juxtapositional predicate of identification. In the second example, it focuses the subject of a cleft NP construction.

Shímá bàrèmá.	*Even he is a farmer.*
Shímá bàrèmá wò.	*It is he who is a farmer.*

In the following example set the verb aspect is changed from perfect, to NEC, to past, and the various changes in status of the subject are reflected in the translations.

Shímá lèzənà.	*Even he went.*
Shímá lèzô.	*HE went./It is he who went.*
Shímá lèwónò.	*Even he went./HE went.*

In the counterpart cleft NP construction, only the focused interpretation is of course possible.

Shímá (kâm) lèzənà(də́) wò.	*It is he who is the one who went.*

The following examples show additional cases of the role of the emphasis marker to mark NPs concessively. In some cases this may be reinforced by the application of the additive adjunct yé *also*, as shown.

Álìmá ísənà.	*Even Ali came.*
Álìmá yé ísənà.	*Even Ali too came.*
Álìmá rúkənyí.	*I didn't see even Ali.*
Kâm fálmá rúkənyí.	*I didn't see even a single person./ I didn't see anyone at all.*
Fəlài búrwòàdəmá yé səsàfí yàyé dəmbá zólìdəmárò súwúdù báksəgìn.	*The winnowing mat in spite of/even with its cleverness, no matter how much it winnows it still has to bring the flour and bang it into the crazy calabash.*
Kàsúwùmárò lèwónò.	*He went even to the market.*
Bəlà ádəmân shíà rúkənà.	*I have seen him right/even in this (very) town.*
Nəmkúrànzə ádəmáà kózənà.	*Its size surpasses even that.*
Sâdən wúmá kúrà.	*At the time/then, even I/I was big/important.*

Cídànyímá tàmònggə̂nyí wá lèngîn?	*Should I go when I haven't finished even my work?*

As a status marker focusing a NP constituent, the emphasis marker normally connotes contrastive focus, singling out the focused NP as distinct from the set of possible candidates that share a common background framework that is contextually provided. Thus it marks an NP as unique. As has been demonstrated, in this role it interacts with the aspect system and the structure of the sentence in which it occurs. It focuses subject and object NPs in sentences characterized by a finite verb form in the NEC.

Ndú rûm? Álìmá (rúkò).	*WHO did you see? It is Ali (I saw).*
Ndú ísò? Álìmá (ísò).	*WHO came? It is Ali (who came).*

It also contrastively focuses the subjects of cleft NP constructions, as is described in chapter 26.

Álìmá (kâm) rúkə́nà(də́) wò.	*It is Ali who (is the person that) I saw.*
Álìmá (kâm) lèzə́nà(də́) wò.	*It is Ali who (is the person who) went.*

This restrictive role in singling out a NP constituent is also apparent in the position that it may take within the restrictive relative clause construction, as described in chapter 23. When +má follows the RRC in pre-determiner position, it apparently intensifies the restrictiveness of the relative clause.

Kâm lèzə́nàmádə́ ...	*The very person that went ...*
Sáwànyí kúràmádə́ ...	*My friend the very one that is big/important ...*

4. Other Adverbial Adjuncts to the NP that Function as NP Status Markers.

4.1. The NP Status Marker nyí. The adverbial adjunct/status marker nyí normally occurs after nominals and is used in a variety of ways to emphasize and insist. Its use is often anaphoric to a given situation, in the sense that one can use it to re-ask a question one has gotten an unbelievable or unacceptable answer to, and wants therefore to hear the answer again. Thus some sarcasm may be involved in its use. Because its use is so dependent on an utterance context, it is often difficult to capture all the subtleties of that situation in an English translation. It would seem that this nyí bears some relation to the constituents of the negative nonverbal predicate gə̀nyí (see page 178), which is used as a negative of identification. This cannot however be documented.

The NP status marker nyí is usually pronounced very quickly, and though it is written the same as the 2S personal pronoun nyí *you*, it is clearly distinguishable from it in speech. The initial consonant is not always clearly articulated, and the pronunciation becomes more like a very nasalized [yĩ].

Àbí nyí sə̀dîn?	*What (in the world) is it (you said) he is doing?*
Nyí shí-à ndú-à bískà káshò?	*He and who was it that came yesterday?*
Shí àbìtə́rò nyí májìn?	*He is trying to WHAT?*
Nyí àbísó kùlàskkúlásshìn?	*What is it (that you said) he keeps searching for?*
Àbí wààzô nyí zìyárànzə́ Mákkàbèdə́ dàwàrzə́nà?	*What in the world happened that he has cancelled his visit to Mecca?*
Àbí wò nyí wààzô?	*What in the world has happened?*
Àbí wò nyí sə̀dîn ràâm?	*What is it that you really want him to do?*
Àbí nyí shí májìn dùnyân?	*What ever is he looking for on this earth?*

Àwó nyí rúkò nõngə̂nyí.	*I don't know exactly what it was that I saw.*
Nâ nyí lèzə́nàmá nõngə̂nyí dìyé.	*But I don't even know where in the world he went.*
Àbí nyí wúrò dímìn?	*What exactly are you doing to me?*
Àbí nyí wònò?	*What exactly did he say?*
Ádə̀ nyí kàrò Njàménàbè wá?	*Why that is the work of Njamena isn't it?*
Ndúrò nyí bìskégə̀mìn?	*Who do you think you are playing with?*
Shí àbí nyí májìn dùwō sə̀wàndə̂nyí wò?	*What was it though that (it was) he was looking for and did not find?*
Àbí wò nyí wààzə́nà nõngə̂nyí wò.	*What exactly it was that happened I don't know.*
Àbí wààzō nyí tə́mmárò tàdàwánzə́ sámmá ángā̀l kúttùàdə́?	*I wonder what it was that happened that all of his children have bad dispositions?*
Ádə̀ nànkàrò nyí cídànyí ádə̀ díkìn.	*That then is why it is I do my work.*
Nyí shí tə́mmárò fátòdə́má sə̀ràgə̂nyí dé/dìyé.	*You know he never even liked the house.*
Nyí àwóndé ádə̀ wàyèjíà kə̀lândémá sàmnyênbâ dìyé.	*You know if we are not careful we will not even save our skins at this rate.*
Málə̀m nyí wá shí?	*But he is a malam isn't he?*
Àbísò àbísò nyí kúdə̀m?	*What all and what all is it that you brought?*
Kâm nyírò nõngə̂nyí.	*I don't know exactly which person it was.*
Àwó nyísòdə́rò nõngə̂nyí.	*I don't know exactly which things they were.*

In the following examples, nyí occurs in construction-final position and again functions somewhat rhetorically, to posit or question something that one already believes to be true but wants verified when unsure.

Ndú nyí?	*Who was it (that you just said)?*
Shí ádə̀ mbéjí nyí?	*But surely this one must exist/be available?*
Mbéjí nyí tə̀màngə́nà.	*I am quite sure that it exists.*
Sùlúwúnà nyí.	*I am quite sure that he has gone out.*
Jírèmân nyí rá gə̀nyí?	*I am quite sure it is true, or isn't it?*
Bə́là ádə̀n nyí rá gə̀nyí?	*It is in this town, or isn't it?*
Bískà búné shíà rúkə́nà nyí?	*I could swear/but didn't I see him last night?*
Ndú ísə́nàdə́ nyí?	*Who is it who is the one that came?*
Lámbànzə́ ndáwù nyí?	*How much did you say its number was?*
Ndú mbâl kâiwò nyí?	*Who did you say that bought the drinks?*
Kàsúwùlàn lènə̂m kádìm nyí?	*I guess you have already gone and come back from the market?*
Kàwú lèngə́nàmân lúwùmí wò nyí?	*It seems that you haven't even gone out since I went away?*
Àbí ádə̀ nyí?	*What was it that it is?/What's up?*
Ndú ádə̀ nyí?	*Who was it that it is?*
Ndú wò nyí?	*Who was it that it is?*

4.2. The Additive Adjunct yé as a NP Status Marker. The additive adjunct yé is in almost all of its uses interpretable in English by *also, too*. It may also be used to conjoin NPs, as is discussed in chapter 33. On the basis of the description of a NP status marker from section 1 above, yé also qualifies as a NP status marker since its application to the subject NP of a finite verbal sentence results in the independent manifestation of that subject NP when it is a pronoun, from the enclitic to the personal pronoun form.

Shí yé zâurò kâm ngə́là.	*He too is a very good person.*
Shí yé kùrú zâurò cìdàjín.	*He too, furthermore, works very hard.*

Súnó yé kàráwìlàn cìdàtîn.	*Shoes too are worked from leather.*
Shâidə́ yé cúwúdə̀nyí.	*And the tea too he did not bring.*
Wú ádə̀ kálmá yé shírò bàktàrò kàttèrə́kò.	*And even little old me (too) escaped being beaten by him.*
Wúmá yé fàngókò.	*Even I too heard it.*
Sádə̀də́ yérò, kə́rwíà wá lèzâi?	*To Lake Chad too, is it with buckets that they go?*
Ngùlùndómá yé Kə̀mâyè kùrúwùn kàfúwùnrò àlàkkónò.	*Even when it came to fingers, God created both long and short.*
Ámérìkà yélàn tə̀dîn.	*It is also done in America.*
Àwó kû ísə́nà bálì yé íshìn.	*What came today will also come tomorrow.*
Wú yé lèngîn.	*I too am going.*

4.3. The Concessive/Conditional Adjunct yàyé as a NP Status Marker. For the same reasons that yé qualifies as a NP status marker, similarly the application of yàyé to a pronoun subject NP results in the requirement that it be manifested independently, rather than simply as an enclitic pronoun in its neutral unmarked form. The role of yàyé as a subordinator of concessive clauses is examined in detail in chapter 30.

Shí yàyé ráksə̀ lèjîn.	*Even he/Even if it is he he can go.*
Sàndí yàyé sàdə̂.	*Even they should do it.*
Nyâ sáàbè yàyérò cídà báltè fálbè ngálwó.	*In comparison to a year's worth of good intentions, the work of morning is better.*
Wánéè àwó láá yàyé kə̀mbûbè àndírò kúdə́mìn.	*Maybe you will bring us some kind of thing to eat.*

5. The Associative Postposition as a NP Status Marker. In Chapter 22, the role of the associative postposition in marking direct objects, especially those that were pronominal, was explained as an instance of its role in marking left dislocated NPs for a special status. There it was shown how NPs dislocated in this way were essentially either topicalized, or otherwise emphasized. There the independent occurrence of pronoun objects was explained as an instance of left dislocation from their canonical position within the finite verb form (i.e. from enclitic to independent personal pronoun) - marking with the associative postposition being therefore required to indicate clearly their somehow emphasized status. It was shown how that when a direct object was fronted in that way, the then following subject NP (in its non-canonical position) was marked by the agent position, the result being the Kanuri equivalent of a passive construction with expressed agent. According to the present analysis, both the associative marking of the direct object, and the agent marking of the subject represent instances of NP status marking. The reader is referred to chapter 22 for a thorough treatment of that process.

Similarly, a subject NP or for that matter any NP may be marked as a topic through the application of the associative postposition to set it off, usually in construction-initial position. NP status marking by the associative postposition may or may not be accompanied by separation from the remainder of the sentence by a prosodic pause.

Shíà, cî báràmbèlàdə̂n.	*As for him, he is down at the water's/well's edge.*
Wúà nòngə̂nyí íshìn âu íshìnbârò.	*Me I don't know whether he is coming or not.*
Álìà lèjînbâ.	*As for Ali, he won't go.*

Sâ ísə́nàdə́à, wú bâ.	*As for the time he came, I wasn't there.*
Kûà lèngînbâ.	*As for today I am not going.*
Gə̀lé, nyíà, àbí dímìn?	*Say, as for you, what will you do?*
Nyíà(,) nzúrúkə́nà.	*You, I saw you.*
Módùdə́à, cídànzə́ sə̀dô.	*As for that Modu, he did his job.*

The above example Gə̀lé, nyíà, àbí dímìn? could as well be translated by *Well, if it were you, what would you do?* The fact that this, and many other associative postpositional phrases, may have either a conditional or a topicalized interpretation from Kanuri into English demonstrates the close relationship between the two in Kanuri, and suggests that the two may be more closely related than many would suspect in other languages of the world. This important relation between the topicalized associative-marked NP (which by definition also constitutes an adverbial postpositional phrase), and the conditional etc. adverbial clauses subordinated by the associative postposition, is explored and explained in chapter 31. The reader is also referred to Hutchison, 1980, for further discussion of this relationship.

CHAPTER 26: THE CLEFT NP CONSTRUCTION

1. Introduction. As introduced in chapter 18, the present analysis treats the cleft NP construction as being structurally identical to the nonverbal predicate of comparison. Both are structurally rooted in the juxtapositional nonverbal sentence type, as described in relation to nonverbal predicates of identification and description in chapter 17. The cleft NP construction is formed through the juxtaposition of two NP positions, with the latter or predicate NP position always filled by a complex NP or relative clause construction, very often with the ant NP deleted leaving a headless relative clause. Unlike the nonverbal predicate of comparison, the cleft NP construction does not contain the third NP position in a postpositional phrase marked by the indirect postposition +rò, the position of the NP which is the standard of comparison in a nonverbal predicate of comparison. The relation among these various construction types is apparent from the following examples. As noted on page 181, it should be remembered that when the predicate NP position of a cleft NP construction is filled by an adjectival noun without its ant NP, then the construction may be open to either the superlative comparative interpretation, or the cleft NP interpretation.

Álì kúrà.	*Ali is big.*
Álì kúrà wò.	*Ali is bigger/biggest.*
Álìmá wúrò kúrà wò.	*ALI is/It is Ali who is bigger than me.*
Álì wúrò kúrà wò.	*Ali is bigger than me.*
Álìmá kúrà wò.	*ALI is/It is Ali who is bigger.* *It is Ali who is the one who is big.*
Álìmá (kâm) kúrà(də́) wò.	*It is Ali who is the (person) one who is big.*

When a verbal sentential modifier occurs in the predicate NP position, with or without its ant NP, the cleft NP interpretation is the only one possible, as in the following examples.

Túdùmá ràákə́nà(də́) wò.	*THAT is what/the one that I want.*
Túdùmá áwò ràákə́nà(də́) wò.	*THAT is the thing that I want.*

In the cleft NP constructions thus far observed in this introduction, it is apparent that the emphatic particle +má is being used to single out and focus the construction-initial NP, i.e. to cleft it. The uses of this emphatic particle as a NP status marker were presented in the preceding chapter 25. Its use to mark the focused NP of a cleft NP construction represents a mere extension of its use in a different syntactic environment. As will be observed below, both the negative gənyí and the yes-no question marker wá, may also be used (as is the emphatic particle) to focus or cleft the construction-initial subject NP of the cleft NP construction, as is shown in the following variations of the above-cited example.

Álìmá kúrà wò.	*It is Ali who is big.*
Álì gənyí kúrà wò.	*It is not Ali who is big.*
Álì wá kúrà wò?	*Is it Ali who is big?*
Álì gənyí wá kúrà wò?	*Isn't it Ali who is big?*

Regardless of whether it is emphasized, questioned, or negated, in all of the above cleft NP constructions the subject NP is in some way singled out and focused as being the only NP which is definable by restrictive relative clause construction which occupies the juxtaposed predicate NP position.

In all of the cleft NP constructions to be examined and described in this chapter, the predicate NP position is always marked finally by the predicating particle wò, which has sometimes been described as an obsolete verb *to be* in Kanuri. In the cleft NP construction, this predicating particle appears to function in very much the same way as the second occurrence of the verb *to be* in certain cleft NP constructions of English, e.g. *It is John who is the one who went.* The initial occurrence of the copula in this English example then corresponds to the Kanuri emphatic, negative, and yes-no question particles. It is apparent then that in Kanuri cleft NP constructions, the use of one of the focus particles to cleft the subject NP is matched in predicate-final position by the use of the predicating particle wò. The predicating particle plays a very similar role in nonverbal predicates of comparison and the introduction to its use (with a brief description of other analyses) which is presented in V.18:2, also applies to the cleft NP construction.

2. Verb Aspect in the Predicate of the Cleft NP Construction. According to the present analysis, the cleft NP construction of Kanuri represents another instance of the juxtapositional nonverbal sentence formed through the juxtaposition of two NP constituents. Such sentences represent the Kanuri equivalent of a copula of identification. Only non-oblique independent NPs may occur in either the subject or the predicate NP position of the cleft NP construction. NP constituents marked by postpositions may not occur in this restrictive identificational environment, as is borne out by the following examples.

Láráwàdəmá yîm lèzənàdə́ wò.	*It is Wednesday that is the day that s/he went.*
*Láráwààdəmá yîm lèzənàdən wò.	**It is on Wednesday that is on the day that s/he went.*

This is further borne out by the observation that when the focused subject of the cleft NP construction bears an apparent functional relation (i.e. is the agent or the direct object) to the finite verb form in the predicate which is focused by the predicating particle, this functional relation cannot be overtly marked by functional postpositional marking. This shows that the cleft NP construction consists of the two autonomous, equational NP positions, divided by the major constituent break between subject and predicate. In the environment of the true verbal sentence, it is always possible to to mark such NPs with functional postpositional marking. In the following verbal sentence in the NEC, the focused subject NP is also marked with the agent postposition. This may not occur in the comparable cleft NP construction.

Shímáyè sədô.	*HE did it.*
Shímá sədənà wò.	*It is he (it is) who did it.*
*Shímáyè sədənà wò.	

It is apparent that the focused NP in the subject position is not within the scope of and therefore is not an immediate constituent of the verb form occurring in the predicate NP position in the cleft NP construction. Whatever sentence material follows the cleft NP in subject position, falls within the scope of the predicating particle wò, and is a syntactic NP. This is verified by the fact the verb form of the predicate may be preceded by its ant NP as is characteristic of the restrictive relative clause construction. Furthermore, whether the ant NP occurs or not, the same restrictions on the aspect of the verb form which may occur within the relative clause, also apply to the aspect of the verb form within the predicate of the cleft NP construction. Therefore, of the four affirmative completive verb aspects of the language, the perfect is the only aspect which may occur in the focused predicate of the cleft NP construction, as shown below.

Álìmá rúkə́nà wò.	*It is Ali (it is) that I saw.*
*Álìmá rúkò wò.	
*Álìmá rúkí wò.	
*Álìmá cúrúkò wò.	

It is clear that neither the NEC, the VEC, nor the past may occur in the cleft NP construction.

The similarity in structure between the cleft NP construction and the juxtapositional nonverbal sentence of identity is now clearly established. Whether it be a verbal or a nonverbal cleft NP construction, the underlying structure always involves the simple juxtaposition of two NPs.

Shímá sáwànyí wò.	*It is he (it is) who is my friend.*
Shí wá sáwànyí wò?	*Is it he (it is) who is my friend?*
Shí gə̀nyí sáwànyí wò.	*It isn't he (it is) who is my friend.*
Shí gə̀nyí wá sáwànyí wò?	*Isn't it he (it is) who is my friend?*
Ndú sáwànyí wò?	*Who is it (it is) who is my friend?*

Shímá (kâm) rúkə́nà wò.	*It is he who (it) is (the person) that I saw.*
Shí wá (kâm) rúkə́nà wò?	*Is it he who (it) is (the person) that I saw?*
Shí gə̀nyí (kâm) rúkə́nà wò.	*It isn't he who (it) is (the person) that I saw.*
Shí gə̀nyí wá (kâm) rúkə́nà wò?	*Isn't it he who (it) is (the person) that I saw?*
Ndú (kâm) rúkə́nà wò?	*Who is it who (it) is (the person) that I saw?*

Other verb aspects which may occur in the focused predicate of the cleft NP construction are the negative completive, the imperfect, and the negative imperfect.

3. Person Agreement in Cleft NP Constructions. As long as the ant NP of the complex NP in the predicate NP position is manifested, then regardless of the person of the focused NP of the subject position, the verb form in the predicate will always be in the third person, corresponding in number to the number of the antecedent.

Wúmá kâm lèzə́nà(də́) wò.	*It is I who is the person who went.*
Nyímá kâm lèzə́nà(də́) wò.	*It is you who is the person who went.*
Shímá kâm lèzə́nà(də́) wò.	*It is s/he who is the person who went.*
Àndímá âm lèzánà(də́) wò.	*It is we who are the people who went.*
Nàndímá âm lèzánà(də́) wò.	*It is you who are the people who went.*
Sàndímá âm lèzánà(də́) wò.	*It is they who are the people who went.*

However, as would not be predicted by the present analysis, when the nominal predicate of the cleft NP construction occurs without its ant NP, then person and number agreement between the subject and the predicate NP positions is obligatory.

Wúmá lèngə́nà wò.	*It is I who went.*
?Wúmá lèzə́nà wò.	
Nyímá lènə́mmà wò.	*It is you who went.*
?Nyímá lèzə́nà wò.	
Shímá lèzə́nà wò.	*It is s/he who went.*
Àndímá lènyénà wò.	*It is we who went.*
?Àndímá lèzánà wò.	
Nàndímá lènúwà wò.	*It is you who went.*
?Nàndímá lèzánà wò.	
Sàndímá lèzánà wò.	*It is they who went.*

The first and second person examples of the above set in which no ant NP is manifested would perhaps best be derived from an underlying verbal sentence so that e.g. Wúmá lèngə́nà wò would be derived from Lèngə́nà *I went/ have gone*, rather than from the juxtaposition of two NPs.

4. The Occurrence of the Determiner in Cleft NP Construction Predicates. The observation that the predicate of the cleft NP construction is a NP position focused by wò is further substantiated by the possible occurrence of the determiner in a NP-final position, immediately preceding the predicating particle wò. In the cleft NP construction it seems that the determiner +dә́ occurs less consistently than is the case for its occurrence in the normal complex NP in non-cleft environments. The use of +dә́ in both of these environments cannot however be easily explained without a detailed investigation of the semantics of all of the contexts in which it does or does not occur. It is therefore reminiscent of the seemingly unpredictable use or non-use of the English *that* in comparable environments (see Bolinger: 1972). Nevertheless, regardless of whether the ant NP is manifested, the determiner may occur as evidenced by the following examples.

Shímá (kâm) lèzә́nàdә́ wò.	*It is he who is the one that went.*
Shímá kâm nyíà kózә́nà gùlngә́nàdә́ wò.	*It is he who is the person that I told you was better than you/surpassed you.*
Ádә̀má dàlîl dùwô jìlwá fânnzә́ bә̀láàrò wálzә́nàdә́ wò.	*It is this that is the reason (it is) though that the rat came to live in a hole. (lit.: his house became a hole)*

5. Indirect Postpositional Phrases in Cleft NP Constructions. The occurrence of an indirect postpositional phrase marked by +rò in a cleft NP construction may play a role similar to that which it plays in the comparative construction as described in chapter 18. With a standard for comparison introduced in such a postpositional phrase, the meaning of the verb form in the predicate NP position may take on a relative or comparative shade of meaning, as shown in the following examples. For example when the verb meaning *like, want* is focused by the predicating particle in relation to an indirect postpositional phrase containing a standard of comparison, it is then interpretable as *like more, prefer*.

Ádә̀rò túdùmá ràákә́nà wò.	*Over this it is that that I prefer.*
Túdùmá ádә̀rò ràákә́nà wò.	*It is that that I prefer over this.*
Álìrò Músàmá nòngә́nà wò.	*In comparison to Ali it is Musa that I know better.*
Mátòdә́rò màárân lètә́má kárngә́nà wò.	*Over travel by car it is travel by plane that I chose.*
Nyídә́rò wúmá kàrә́ngә̀rò Yêrwà rúkә́nà wò.	*In comparison to you it is I that have seen Yerwa more recently.*

In the absence of such a phrase bearing the standard of comparison, certain cleft NP constructions may lend themselves to a superlative interpretation in addition to their normal cleft interpretation.

Wúmá kâm Álìà ngә́làrò nòzә́nà wò.	*It is I that is the person who knows Ali best/that is the person who knows Ali well.*

6. Cleft NP Construction Data from Textual and Literary Sources. The examples of cleft NP constructions collected here are designed to document some of the environments in which this construction-type is used.

Ádә̀má wâdә̀ wú-à shí-à gótíyénà wò.	*This is the promise (it is) that s/he and I made to each other.*
Ndú súróndôn kàngúlèrò dôi wò?	*Who is it among you that (it is who) is fast/est at running?*
Dâ dúnòbè yàyérò shílà ángàlbèmá dáwúlàn kójìn wò.	*In comparison to the meat that is forced upon someone it is the bone that is eaten by choice that is more easily swallowed.*

Wàjíyàmá lóktùnzə́ wò.	*It is tomorrow that is its time.*

In the following four examples note that a noun or proper noun, sometimes in the context of direct address, precedes the cleft NP construction. In each a coreferent pronoun then follows each noun or proper noun and it is that pronoun which is marked (in these examples) with emphatic particle +má.

Yáà Kùrwúlì, nyímá àndí dàbbàwá kàráàbè sámmábè kúràndé wò.	*Sir Lion, it is you who is the senior of all of us animals of the wilds.*
Ádə nànkàdə́rò kâmsòdə́, sàndímá álàgə̀sòbè búrwòànzá yé kúrànzá yé wò.	*Because of that, these humans, it is they of all creatures who are the most cunning and the most powerful.*
Yáà Kəryégə̀, nyímá ngúdòsòbè kúrànzá wò.	*Sir Ostrich, it is you who is the senior of all the birds.*
Ngô dàbbàwá ányì, sàndímá zâurò díwì wò kàráàlàn.	*Here these animals, it is they who are the meanest/worst in the wilds.*

In the following three examples, a cleft NP construction is embedded within a larger complex sentence construction.

Kâm shímá bə́làmàndé wò(də́) ísə́nà.	*The man who (it is who) is our village chief has arrived.*
Kə̀mówùn-à kùwî-à kə̀lâ ndúnzá kə̀mbû ngə́wù zə́wìn wòbèlàn kàmbìgə̀gátà.	*The elephant and the chicken argued over who of them (it is who) could eat the most food.*
Wàjíyà súwà wú-à nyí-à kàráàrò lènyê rìzàmnyê ndúndé shíà kə̀mbûyè sə̀tînbâ.	*Tomorrow morning let's you and I go to the bush and see who of us it is that will not get enough food/can't be satisfied.*

In the following two examples, the predicate adjectival noun ngálwó *better* occurs, and the predicating particle wò does not occur independently in this cleft NP environment. It is likely that ngálwó represents an accreted form made up of ngə́là *good* and the predicating particle wò.

Bâdə́rò bánòàmá ngálwó.	*In comparison to nothing, it is having a hoe that is better.*
Lùwáyà kúttùrò kàráwì kánnúyè zə́wúnàmá ngálwó.	*In comparison to a bad deal/sale, it is having one's leather robe burned that is better.*

7. The Uses of the Predicating Particle wò in other Focusing Environments.

The predicating particle wò is used in a variety of other emphasis and focusing environments, differing from its use to focus the predicate NP position in the cleft NP construction. It functions very much like the copula (English *to be*) in other languages, to essentially nominalize entire sentential predicates in order to emphasize or contrast them, i.e. to say *X is not true, it is (instead/rather) the case that Y is true.* The use of wò to set off information that a speaker presents as fact in a contradictory or surprising way is apparent in the following examples.

Kâm ádə̀ gə̀nyí, kâm túdù wò.	*It is not this man, it is that man that it is.*
Cìlàdə́kò gə̀nyí, ndàltə́nà wò.	*It is not the case that I sold it, it is that it was stolen.*
Kâm bə́rì fânnzə́bè rúzə́nàdə́, bə̀làwùròzə̂nyí wò.	*The man that rejects the meal of his own home, it is (the case) that he hasn't traveled.*

Kâm súrő kàmádúwùbèrò kárè sàtèríyìn rúmíyà, nâ ngâmdù fòdùzánà wò.	*When you see a man packing up his goods/ belongings and going into the river, it is the case that he has found a dry spot.*
Kènzágà kègámìà, nā námmà kárè.	*When s/he throws sand at you and you do not throw back at him/her, it is the case that you have a hard floor (i.e. you do not have sand to throw back).*

In the following examples, some of which contain two occurrences of the predicating particle, the context for the utterance may be sarcastic or involve criticism of the listener by the speaker.

Sàdîn sánà. Sàdánà wò wá wò?	*He said he would do it. Well (dammit) is it the case (that it is the case) that he has done it?*
Nònámmà wá wò?	*Is it the case that you know it (or not)?*
Tàmònámmà (wò) wá wò?	*Is it the case that you have finished?*

SECTION VII: ADVERBIAL PHRASES AND CLAUSES

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CHAPTER 27: POSTPOSITIONS IN ADVERBIAL POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASES AND CLAUSES

1. Introduction. With regard to lexical category, it has been proposed that Kanuri has no true category *adverb* (see ch. 6). Words in the lexicon functioning in this capacity have been described as *adverbial nouns*. All other constituents functioning as adverbs are composite (oblique) postpositional phrases formed through the application of a postposition to a lexical noun, a noun phrase, or even an entire clause. Most of the composite adverbials described in the present chapter are formed through the application of the two major oblique postpositions of the language, i.e. the locative/means/instrument postposition +(là+)n, and the indirect postposition +rò. Those adverbials formed through the application of the directional postposition +mbèn are also presented in this chapter.

With regard to semantic function (and sometimes correlating with syntactic position), adverbials may be divided into three groups: adjuncts, conjuncts, and disjuncts. Adjuncts are what we commonly refer to as *adverbs*, i.e. those adverbials which are an integrated part of the clause or sentence in which they occur. Included there are the common adverbs of manner, means, location, instrument, and time, all of which are treated in this chapter. Both conjuncts and disjuncts are peripheral to the structure of the clause or sentence. The conjunct ádə̀sôn *in spite of all that*, and the disjunct wúmbènnà *in my opinion*, are used to introduce a following sentence but are not integrated within the sentence. Conjuncts show the connection between what is being said and what was said before, whereas disjuncts in some way express an evaluation of what is being said. Conjuncts and disjuncts are treated in chapter 28.

2. The Locative/Means/Instrument Postposition +(là+)n/+nyìn. The postposition +(là+)n, and its less frequently used assimilating form +nyìn, takes on a variety of different meanings, and therefore apparently different functions, in definable syntactic environments. The variety of the phonological forms in which it occurs are not syntactically or semantically predictable in all uses, though in certain uses one form is at least preferred over another. In certain uses the form it takes may be phonologically conditioned. It has been termed the *ablative case marker* by Lukas, who cited the three forms +n, +nyìn, +làn (Lukas, 1937:17).

If a basic meaning could be proposed for it, in English the locative *at* or *in* would be the most appropriate. It locates not only in the sense of place but also in the sense of time. Thus it describes the state, either temporal or locational in which its object occurs. In apparent incongruity with this basic meaning, is its use to mark postpositional phrases containing nouns of instrument or means. One might expect that the associative +(C+)à postposition would be used to mark instrumental and means phrases. The difference between the two postpositions in this context is apparent from the following examples:

Fə̂rlàn kádìo.	*He came by/on horse.*
Fə̂rrà kádìo.	*He came with a horse.*
Jánàlàn kámgònò.	*He cut it with a knife.*
?Jánàà kámgònò.	*?He cut it together with a knife.*

In ch. 17 it was shown that +làn in nonverbal sentences normally marks locative adverbials connoting *at*, *in*, or *from*. In verbal sentences, it marks adverbials of location, means, instrument, material, manner, time, state, and also a variety of adverbial clause types.

2.1. The Postposition +(là+)n in Simple Postpositional Phrases.

a) Locative Adverbials

Álì kàsúwùllàn kádìo.	*Ali came from the market.*
Fántà kàsúwùllàn cìdàjîn.	*Fanta works in the market.*
Kə̀skálàn zə̀pcín.	*He is coming down from the tree.*
Ndân cúrùm?	*Where did you see it?*
Ndáràn káshò?	*Where did they come from?*
Mákkàn cìwàndə́kò.	*I got it in Mecca.*
Kàsúwùllàn cìzâi.	*They will take off/leave from the market.*
Shílàn àbímá mângìnbâ.	*I want nothing to do with him.*
Ndân kàrgâm?	*Where do you live?*
Shí Yêrwàn kàrgâ.	*He lives in Yerwa.*

b) Means, Instrument, and Material Adverbials

Jánàlàn kámgàdà.	*They cut it with a knife.*
Mátòlàn káshè.	*We came by car.*
Shímmìn cúrò.	*He saw it with (his) eyes.*
Kórə́də́ dâ ngâmdə̀n làpsâi.	*They loaded the donkey with dried meat.*
Kálámmìn sə̂rné.	*Sift it with the sand sifter.*
Fə̂rlàn bə̀làwùrònyên.	*We are traveling by horse.*
Ngə́nə́wùllàn rə̀mbúmìn.	*You will pay with toil/sweat.*
Kàttílàn sàtándìn.	*They are building it with mud.*

c) Manner Adverbials

Ángàllàn lèné.	*Go carefully.*
Ílàílàn cìdànyên.	*We work slowly.*
Rókkóndên cìdàjîn.	*He works together with us.*
Kúlwúnə́m dâtə̀nə́mmìn kâmné.	*Cut/tailor your robe according to your height.*
Kə̀léwà sə́láinyìn fátòrò nágə́mmàdə́rò zâurò kùrnòtə́kə́nà.	*I am very happy that you reached home safely.*
Dàtên kádìo.	*He came early.*
Ángàlnzə̂n cìdô.	*He did it deliberately/intentionally.*
Nádìn cìdô.	*He did it on purpose.*

d) Other Adverbials

Yêrwàn bówózàirò wálwònò.	*It came to be called Yerwa.*
gànánzən	*in his youth*
ádə̀n bùrwôn kàwú yàkkə́à	*three days before that*
Wûn bùrwônrò kádìo.	*He came before me.*
Álì kə̀ntágə̀ fállàn wáltìn.	*Ali will return in one month.*

e) Locative Adverbials with a Genitive Modified Noun Phrase

head noun with example

bótówò	*proximity*	bótówò fânnyíbèdə̂n	*next to my house*
		bótówònzə́ kállàdə̂n	*right next to him/her/it*
cî	*mouth, door*	cî báràmbèlàn	*at the edge/mouth of the well/water*
		cî kúlòbèlàn	*at the edge of the farm/field*
dàryé	*end, last*	bínə́mbè dàryélàn	*at the end of the cold season*
dáwù	*middle, center*	dáwù fátòbèlàn	*in the middle of the house*
		Shídə́ dáwù Kànùrìwábèn kàrgâ.	*Him he lives right among (in the middle of) the Kanuris.*
		Àndí dáwù kàráàbèn dùwô fánkcà câiyè.	*We were in the middle of nowhere when we suffered a puncture.*
fúwù	*front*	fúwù fânnzábèlàdə̂n	*there in front of their house*

fə́rtə̀	*root, base*	fə́rtə̀ kə̀skábèlàn	*at the base/foot of the tree*
		fə́rtə̀ kâubèdə̂n	*at the base of the rock*
gə́ré	*juxtaposition*	gə̂rénzə̂n	*right next to him*
		gə̀rə́ fânndébèlàn	*right next to our house*
kátè		Njîm kààánzə̀à kàkkêà kátènzân sə́gdìà.	*There is a* zana *mat between his room and mine.*
		kátè Yêrwàà Bágààbèlàn	*between Yerwa and Baga*
kàtékàté/ ìndíkàté	*interval, space between*		
kə̀lâ	*head, top*	kə̀lâ kúrìsbèn	*on top of the chair*
		kə̀lâ kúngə́nànyíbèn	*about/with regard to my money*
		Fàndínzə́bè kə̀lân kàttúwù kámtə̂n hàrájìrò kàwónò.	*By lying about his hearnings he avoided paying taxes.*
		Sáwànzə́ kə́rdìbè âdə̀ zâumárò kàrə́gə̀nzə̂ kə̀jî kə̀lâ málə̀m ádə̀gái shíà kə́rdì sə̀ rùzə̂nyírò nânzə́rò íshìndə́bèn.	*His friend the non-Moslem was very happy about/that a malam like him, knowing he is a non-Moslem, and not despising him and still coming to visit him.*
nâ	*place*	Nâ Málàbèn kúngə́nàà.	*Mala has money.*
		Nândên njî bâ.	*We have no water.*
		Nâ Álìbèrò lèwónò.	*He went to Ali's (place).*
ngáwò	*back*	ngáwò fânnzábèn	*behind their house*
		lèzə́nàbè ngáwòn	*after he had gone*
		ngáwò âdə̀bèn	*after that*
		âdə̀bè ngáwòn kàwú yàkkə̂à	*3 days after that*
sə́díà/cídíà	*underside*	sə́díà kúrìsbèn	*underneath the chair*
súró	*stomach, insides*	súró kə̀ntâgə̀ âdə̀bèn	*during this month*
		súró fânnzə́bèn	*inside his/her house*

2.2. The Postposition +(là+)n as a Clause Subordinator. The postposition +(là+)n functions as the subordinator of a variety of adverbial clauses. It is crucial to the formation of temporal adverbial clauses (see ch. 29), and to concessive adverbial clauses (see ch. 30). The following examples are intended to introduce it as a subordinator.

Wàzə́nàmân shíà rúkə̀nyí.	*I haven't seen him since morning.*
Ngáwòn, Yêrwàrò lèngə́nàdə̂n, ...	*Before, when I went to Yerwa, ...*
Túrúiyèndên lènə́míà kúttù.	*If you go without our having seen each other it would be sad.*
Lènyênlàdə̂n kádá rúiyénà.	*While we were going we saw many of them.*
Lèngînmân shíà fàndə́kìnbâ.	*Even when I go I don't meet him.*
Sùkkùrúnàsôn wáltə̀ cìwónò.	*Every time he fell down: he got up again.*

3. The Indirect Postposition +rò. The indirect postposition +rò carries a great functional load in the language. The term *indirect* is used to refer to +rò because it is a neutral descriptive term which can be understood to cover all of its oblique uses. To call it simply the *dative* postposition, as others have, does not adequately reflect its great versatility (see Lukas, 1937:17). The functions of +rò in Kanuri cover approximately the same syntactic and semantic range as covered by both of the prepositions *to* and *for* in English. Nearly all of its functions are relatable back to its basic phrase level characteristics as a postposition. The indirect postposition is obligatory, never optional, in all of its occurrences.

According to the SKO, regardless of the environment in which it occurs, the indirect postposition is to be always written as +rò. Nevertheless, with regard to pronunciation, +rò does assimilate to a final liquid l, and homorganically to a final nasal consonant. Thus from fâl *one*, fâlrò *once* may be heard as fâllò. Similarly kâmrò *to someone* may be heard as kâmmò. Such assimilations may vary depending upon the speaker and his dialect.

As explained on page 177, the indirect postposition rarely occurs in nonverbal predicates. In simple verbal sentences, +rò occurs as a postposition to mark noun phrases as indirect objects, datives, benefactives, adverbs, and as directional locatives. In complex constructions, +rò may function as a subordinator to clauses of reason and purpose.

3.1. The Indirect Postposition in Simple Postpositional Phrases.

a) Indirect Object Phrases

Shírò yíkìn.	*I will give it to him.*
Shírò fə́légə̀kìn.	*I will show it to her.*
Kâm kúngə́nàârò àbímá yíkìnbâ.	*I will give nothing to the person who has money.*
Kâm shírò Tújà gùlzâidə́ sáwànyí.	*The man they call (to whom they say) Tuja is my friend.*

b) Benefactive Adverbial Phrases

Wúrò shíà lèfàné.	*Greet him for me.*
Álìrò cídà ádə̀ díkìn.	*I am doing this work for Ali.*
Kə̀lânyírò cìdàngîn.	*I work for myself (my head).*
Nyírò yíwùkìn.	*I will buy it for you.*

c) Directional Locative Adverbial Phrases

Kàsúwùrò lèwónò.	*He went to the market.*
Fânnzə́rò kádìkò.	*I came to his house.*
Fátò kámúnzə́ kúrà Músàbèrò lèwókò.	*I went to Musa's senior wife's house.*

c) Comparative Adverbial Phrases (see page 181)

Álì Músàrò kúrà wò.	*Ali is bigger than Musa.*
Férò ádə̀rò Fánnàà kárzò.	*He chose Fanna over this girl.*

d) Adverbials with a Genitive Modified Noun Phrase

head noun with example

súsù/cícì *stead*	súsù Álìbèrò	*instead of Ali*
	Súsù Àmírkàrò lètə́bèrò, Kànádàrò lèwónò.	*Instead of going to America, he went to Canada.*
	Cícì Álìbèrò Módù kárzà.	*They chose Modu instead of Ali.*
sáawù *reason, cause*	sáawù cídàbèrò	*because of work*
	Nìjérìyàlàn kû Shúwàsò mbéjírò wàltàdə́má sáawù nə̀mkâm Àràbìwáà Kànùrìwábèrò.	*There are Shuwa Arabs in Nigeria today because of the friendship between the Arabs and the Kanuris.*
	Támtàm nyárìbèdə́ bârò wáljìnbè sáawùdə́rò, ...	*Because of the story perhaps becoming uninteresting, ...*
	Kùrúmân sáawù ádə̀bèrò jìlwá tə́mmárò kâusù shîm kâmbè súrìnlàn déyàrò sùlúyìnbâ.	*And furthermore, because of this, the rat never goes outside in daylight when people can see it.*
(as in 2.1 above with locative adverbials)	Súró fátòbèrò kàrgàwô.	*She went into the house.*
	Ngáwò kàsúwùbèrò lèwónò.	*He went behind the market.*

3.2. The Indirect Postposition as a Manner Adverbial Formative. The indirect postposition may function very much like the English derivational suffix *-ly* in the formation of adverbials from adjectival nouns, as shown in the following examples. Variant forms and their meanings are also shown.

lexical source	*adverbial*
zâu *hard, expensive*	zâurò *expensively; very*
dôi *quick*	dôirò *quickly*
ngə́là *good*	ngə́làrò *well*
díwì *bad*	díwìrò *badly, terribly; completely*
gànâ *little, small*	gànárò/gànágànárò *little by little, slowly, a little* gànámárò *+neg not at all, not even a little bit*
Gànámárò shíà ràákə̀nyí.	*I don't like him at all.*
Gànámárò cìdàjînbâ.	*He does not work at all.*
kàdâ *very many, too many*	kàdárò *very often*
Kàdárò nânzə́rò lèngə́nà.	*I went very often (many times) too his place.*
ngə́wù *a lot, many, much*	ngə́wùrò *a lot, often, very much, for a long time* *+neg not very much, not very often*
Ngə́wùrò lèjîn.	*He goes very often.*
ngə́wùsó *most*	ngə́wùsórò *mostly, normally usually, in most cases* *+neg not usually*
Ngə́wùsórò shíà fátòn fàndə́mìn.	*Normally you will find him at home.*
fúwù *front*	fúwùrò *forward, ahead*
ngáwò *back*	ngáwòrò *backward*
jírè *truth*	jírèrò *in truth, truthfully*
hǎiyà *truth*	hǎiyàrò *honestly, truthfully, in fact*
wúrà *pl big*	wúràrò *heartily*
náàdə̀ *quick*	náàdə̀rò *quickly, immediately*
ngái *thus*	ngáirò *in this way*
kâl *same*	kálrò *at once, together, simultaneously*
kálkâl *just right*	kálkâlrò *correctly*
kàrə́ngə̀ *nearness, proximity*	kàrə́ngə̀rò *recently* kàrə́ngə̀n *near*
bə́lìn/bə̀lîn *new*	bə́lìnrò *anew, afresh*
Bə́lìnrò bàdìyádà.	*They started over/anew.*
cót *total, complete*	cótrò *completely, for good*
Cót dàwónò.	*It's all gone.*
Cótrò lèzə̂nyí.	*He has not gone for good.*
Cótrò lèwónò, wâltìnbâ.	*He has gone for good, he will not return.*
fâl *one (non-counting)*	fâlrò *once, one time* fâlfâlrò *one at a time*
Kə̀ntágə̀ fálrò cìdàngîn.	*I will work for one month.*
	fâlmárò *+neg not even once*
Fálmárò lèzə̂nyí.	*He didn't go even once.*
gàdé *other, different*	gàdérò *again, another time; + neg not again, never again*
Gàdérò shíà lèfàngînbâ.	*I will never greet him again.*
gàdèmînnà *another time*	gàdèmînnàrò *once again, one more time*
dúnȍà *strong*	dúnȍàrò *strongly*
dê *empty, void*	dêrò *free, for nothing; for no reason, with no provocation, just to be mean*
dê súl *completely empty*	dê súlrò *completely empty; completely free, for absolutely nothing*
tìló *one (counting)*	tìlórò =fâlrò *once, one time* tìlòmînrò *entirely, completely*
ìndí *two*	ìndírò *twice*
àbí? *what?*	àbírò? *for what? why?*

source		*adverbial*	
ndàwú?	*how much/many?*	ndàwúrò?	*for how much, for what price; how many times*
ndárâ?	*where?*	ndárârò?	*to where?*

The role played by the indirect postposition in forming adverbials from noun phrases and other sentence material is represented in examples like the following.

Ndúmâ nyíà kàttùwùmárò nòzə̂nyí.	*No one knows you as a liar.*
Fânnyírò yìkkə́kè kámúnyírò mówòkìn.	*I will put her into my house and take her as my wife.*
Súlè úwùrò làdə́kìn.	*I will sell it for five shillings.*
Kâm kənâàgáirò bə́rì jíwùkò.	*I ate like a famished person.*
Ndú shírò nòzə̂?	*Who knows anything about him?*
Də́lwù fànyénàrò rùwòjígəyè.	*We wrote them down just as we heard them.*
Fânnə́m njîrò kəlêwà shé?	*I hope your house survived the rain?*
Sàndí sámmâ nùnùksâi, Álàyè sàndírò dâ cí sàinnàrò.	*They all muttered, thinking that God had given them meat.*
Shégə̀ bâàrò shímâ sə̀dô.	*It is undoubtedly he that did it.*
Kàrə́gə̀ kə̀jîàrò kàsúwùrò lèwónò.	*He went happily (sweet-heartedly) off to the market.*
Gànâ gə̀nyírò nâ ádə̀n cìdàwókò.	*I worked in this place for no small amount of time.*
Îlàílàn lèné ndúmâ ásújìnbârò.	*Go carefully without anyone noticing.*
Lə̀mân bànnàzâi àbímá gàpsə̂nyírò.	*They waste wealth to the point that nothing remains.*

3.3. The Indirect Postposition as Purpose and Reason Clause Subordinator.

The indirect postposition +rò functions as the subordinator of clauses of purpose and reason. Clauses of this type represent instances in which violation of the canonical SOV order of the language is permissible, since they very often and freely occur after the main clause, as well as in their predicted position before the main clause. In some of the following examples both orders will be presented.

Purpose clauses are very frequently characterized by a nonfinite verb form, usually the verbal noun. They describe unrealized actions representing the intention or purpose for which the subject undertook the action of the main clause.

Bə́rì kə̀mbûrò kádìo.	*He came in order to eat.*
Mákkàrò lètə́rò mângìn.	*I am trying to go to Mecca.*
Kúngə́nà màtàrò fátòlàn cùlúwò.	*He left the house to look for money.*
Cídàrò lètə́rò àndíà kòlwónò.	*He left us to go to work.*
Âmnzə́ kùrûrò Àmírkàrò lèwónò.	*He went to America to see his people.*
Àmírkàrò lèwónò âmnzə́ kùrûrò.	*He went to America to see his people.*
Nânzə́ lááròlèwónò kámú màtàrò.	*He went off somewhere looking for a woman.*
Gə̀râtə̀né wàndé ndúmá ásúzə̀nyírò.	*Hide yourself so that no one notices.*
Njîmnzá tə̀mtàrò âmsòà bówójí.	*He called people to put a roof on their house.*
Shírò kúngə́nà yíkə́nà mátò yìwòrò.	*I gave him money to buy a car.*

In reason clause environments, the indirect postposition may be preceded in its subordinator position by nàngà *because of*.

Àbí nàngàrò/Àbírò kádìm?	*Why did you come?*
Àbí nàngàrò?	*Because why?*
Cídà nàngàrò kádìkò.	*I came because of work.*
Bískà Kánòrò lètə́ nàngàrò tàwàngê cìwókò.	*Yesterday I got up early because of going to Kano.*

Bîskà tàwàngê cìwókò Kánòrò lètə́ nàngàrò.	*Yesterday I got up early because of going to Kano.*

In the above examples, as was the case with the earlier purpose clauses, the verbal clauses are characterized by nonfinite verbal nouns and may be interpreted as purpose clauses as well. All are basically *because of*, *for the purpose of*, or *on account of* clauses describing intentions to carry out actions. When finite verbal clauses are subordinated by the indirect postposition with or without nàngà, the causal reason reading may be reinforced by the occurrence of the determiner element +də́ in the subordinator area. Such clauses might be termed factive clauses of reason. There is considerable freedom of form for such examples, as shown below.

Mâtò kərítə́ lîmídə́rò nyírò mâtò dàpkâdà.	*They refused you a car because you have not learned to drive.*

də́rò
nàngàdə́rò
Mâtò kərítə́ lîmí nàngàrò nyírò mâtò dápkàdà.
nàngàdə́
nàngà
də́ nàngàrò

Kámúnzə́ bàwòzə́nàdə́rò zâurò kàrə́gə̀nzə́ kúttù.	*He is very sad because his wife died.*
Shí sàlìjîndə́rò zánnàrò gàyîn sə̀.	*Just because he prays he thinks that he will enter heaven.*
Sáwànə́m ádə̀ nyíà kə̀ngârò dàmnə́mmàdə́rò nyíà kôlngè máshídì ádə̀làn sàlìnə̀mbâ.	*Because you did not allow this friend of yours to follow you I will not let you pray in this mosque.*

Additional examples of reason clauses are shown below.

Yîm láá ngâm Mákkàrò lèjí bígə̀nzə́ fìtà nàngàrò.	*One day the cat went to Mecca because of /in order to purify his sins.*
Ndàrá yàyé fómjìn, wànéè àwó láá kə̀mbûbè sə̀wàndîn nàngàrò.	*He wanders around everywhere because he might find something to eat.*
Àràbílàn sàrùtə́nàmá ngə́là wò, dàlìlwá ányì nàngàrò.	*Borrowing it from Arabic is better, because of these reasons.*
Bûltùbè zâumárò kàrə́gə̀nzə́ kə̀jìwónò, dâ sə̀wàndə̂ sə̀ nàngàrò.	*The hyena became very happy because he thought he had found some meat.*

Other uses of the indirect postposition in the subordination of temporal adverbial clauses are described in chapter 29.

4. The Directional Postposition +mbèn. In many of its uses the directional postposition +mbèn lends itself to translation in English by *through*, *via* or *towards*, when applied to a location. When applied for example to a body part, it is used to express *by* as in shîmbèn *by the foot*. Because of its meanings, uses, and its phonological shape, one might suggest that it is actually a composite form, derived from some combination of the genitive postposition +bè and the locative/instrumental/means postposition +(là+)n. This speculation is encouraged by the following example (from Cyffer, 1974: 52) in which this postposition is broken up by the syllable +là+, which is a part of the locative/instrumental/means postposition.

Shíà kàráàmbélàn yádé.	*Carry him through/via the bush.*

The following examples are typical of the uses of the directional postposition.

Ngə́rídə́ ìndí kátènzámbèn kówònò.	*The gazelle passed right through between the two of them.*
Fânnzə́mbèn lèwónò.	*He went towards his house.*

Kâm ádə̀ Jôsmbèn kádìo.	*This man came via Jos.*
Ngáwòmbèn cùkkùrô.	*He fell over backwards.*
Âmsò kàráàmbèn lèzánà.	*The people went through the bush.*
Ndásòmbèn kónə̀mìn?	*Through which will you pass?*
Ndárámbèn kádìm?	*Through where did you come?*
Dóngòrdə́ kə̀lânzə́mbèn kówònǒ.	*The stone passed right by his head.*
Yàlámbèn lèwónò.	*He went northward.*
Kə́rìdə́ súwúlímbèn kówònò.	*The dog went through the hole.*
Cínnàmbèn lúyé.	*Go out through the door.*
Cínnàmbèn kàrgàwô.	*He went in through the door.*
Cídíàmbèn sàkkónò.	*It leaked out through the bottom.*
Hàwârdə́ kàsúwùmbèn fàngókò.	*I heard the news via the market.*
Shíà dàmné súwúlímbèn fàrtə́rò.	*Keep him from jumping out the hole.*
Tágàmbèn fàrzə̂ kówònò.	*It got out through the window.*
Bámàdə́ Kòndúgàmbèn létìn.	*Bama is reached via Konduga.*
Álìmbèn gə̀nyâ àbímá tə̀wàndínbâ.	*If not through Ali, nothing will be gotten.*
Kə̀mândéyè kə̀lâmbèn nyírò kùrwówù gə̀nájìwò.	*Our Master has placed this burden on your head.*
Búltùdə́ shímbèn cítákò.	*I grabbed the hyena by the foot.*
Shíà shítìmbèn záwònò.	*He stabbed him through the side.*
Shítìmbèn kámgàdà.	*They cut it through the side/ribs.*
Cárì kàfúwùdə́ shímbèn nàmgátə̀.	*The short old man broke his leg.*
Fə́rtə̀mbèn kámgònò.	*They cut it off at the roots.*
Shínzə́mbèn ngúdòdə́ gə̀rtà bàdìyádà.	*They started dragging the bird by its foot.*

CHAPTER 28: ADVERBIALS LINKING SENTENCES AND CLAUSES

1. Introduction. As introduced in the preceding chapter (see p. 257), with regard to semantic function (and sometimes in correlation with syntactic position), adverbials may be divided into three groups: adjuncts, which were the topic of chapter 27, and conjuncts and disjuncts, which are to be treated together in the present chapter. Adverbial conjuncts and disjuncts share the common feature that they are not integrated within the structure of the clause, both being peripheral and very often occurring disjoined from the rest of the construction, often in construction-initial position. Both conjuncts and disjuncts are normally somehow separated from the following clause by a pause. The conjunct âdə̀sôn *in spite of all that*, and the disjunct wúmbènnà *in my opinion*, are used to introduce a following sentence but are not integrated within an utterance. Conjuncts show the connection between what is being said and what was said before, whereas disjuncts in some way express an evaluation of what is being said (Quirk and Greenbaum, 1973:207-250).

2. Adverbials (Conjuncts) Performing a Connective Function. Conjuncts are adverbials which carry out a connective function in the discourse context. Somehow separated from the clause in which they occur, conjuncts in a variety of ways, either include, take into account, or allow for what preceded in the discourse context. They clarify the connection between what has preceded and what follows. In the following three sentences, observe the connective function of the conjuncts sâ ádə̀(à) *(concerning)/at that time*, sâdə̂n/sâ ádə̀n *then, at that time*, and ádə̀gâi *in that way, thus it remained, it went on like that*, as shown.

Sâ ádə̀(à), lárdə̀ndélàn kə̀nâà.	*(Concerning)/at that time, there was a famine in our country.*
Sâdə̂n/Sâ ádə̀n àbíààbíànàsórò kə̀ndə́gà zâurò wálwònò.	*At that time living became extremely difficult for everyone.*
Ádə̀gái súró bàsàrínzábèn dùwô málàm láa Álà ngòdòtə́ bàdìwónò.	*In that way they lived with their plight until a certain malam began pleading to God.*

It is apparent that adverbial conjuncts very often function referentially, resumptively, and therefore anaphorically, to reset the context for an utterance based on something that has gone before. In this anaphoric function many conjuncts function like pronominals, or what others have referred to as *pro-forms* (see Quirk and Greenbaum, 1973:294-302). Pro-forms function as anaphoric substitutes for previously mentioned material, and are thus devices for abbreviating and for avoiding repetition. Some of the adverbial conjuncts presented in this section either are, or else double as pro-forms for adverbials. Because anaphora is involved in the use of these conjuncts and adverbial pro-forms, by definition therefore the determiner elements including the demonstratives (i.e. the definite anaphoric determiner +də́, and the anaphoric/deictic demonstrative ádə̀) are manifested in a great number of them. Therefore a conjunct like sâdə̂n *at that time*, refers back to the time frame of the previous utterance, and marks it resumptively as the time frame for the new information to be provided in the following clause. Thus adverbial conjuncts are frequently formed from constituents that functioned as integrated adverbial adjuncts in a previous utterance.

Adverbial conjuncts may also function to connect and introduce a result or consequence clause related to a previous utterance. They may introduce an alternative. They may introduce a clause that reinforces or strengthens a previous utterance. They may as well function concessively and transitionally.

The following list represents some of the most common adverbial conjuncts occurring in Kanuri discourse.

ádəà	*as for this; given this; if so; if that's the cas*
ádə̀bè ngáwòn; ngáwò ádə̀bèn; ádə̀bè ngáwòdə̂n; ngáwòdə̂n	*after that*
ádə nànkà; ádə nànkàrò; ádə̀ nànkàdə́rò; ádə̀márò	*because of that; that is why; therefore;* *for this reason*
ádə̀bè sáawùdə́rò; sáawù ádə̀bèrò	*that is the reason why; because of this*
ádə̀yè sə̀kkə̂	*this is what made/caused ...*
ádə̀gǎi; ádə̀gǎilàn; ádə̀gǎi dùwô; ádə̀gǎilàn dùwô; ádə̀gǎi dùwô dàjí	*in that way; it was like that; it went on* *like that though and then ...*
ádə̀n ngùrôn	*apart from that; in addition to that; beyond that; other than that*
ádə̀sôn	*in spite of that; even so; nevertheless*
ádə̀sôn bìa; bìa ádə̀sôn	*anyway/well in spite of that/even so/nevertheless*
ádə̀ gə̀nyíà; ádə̀ gə̀nyâ; ádə̀ nyâ	*were it not for that; except for that; if not for that; apart from that; otherwise*
ádə̀má wándè ...	*that then is ...*
ádə̀ dùwô; ádə̀ dùwônyí	*that though is ...*
ádə̀ yàyé; ádə̀só yàyé	*in spite of/regardless of this/that*
ádə̀ sámmásôn	*in spite of all that; even given all that*
áttə̀má dámlàmâŋ	*even leaving that aside; forgetting that for the moment*
àmmá	*but; however*
àmmá yàyé	*but regardless/nevertheless*
câ; cân	*formerly; before*
câmân	*even before*
bùrwómân	*at first*
bùrwó háwállàn	*at the very first*
dàjí	*then; and then; next*
dàjí sâdə̂n	*then at that time*
də́	*(rarely alone) given all that; thus; therefore*
dátə̀ ádə̀làn; dátə̀ ádə̀	*as it now stands; at the present time*
kàrə́ngə̀ ádə̀márò	*very recently*
kàwúdə́rò	*before that/then*
kàwú ádə̀rò	*before this/that*
kàwú ádə̀ wòsórò	*up until then; prior to that time*
fútù ádə̀làn; fútù ádə̀gǎilàn	*in this way*
fútù ádə̀làn dùwô ...	*it was in this way though (that) ...*
kàwú dùwôrò	*for the time being; until then*
kúrèn	*in former times; long ago*
kùrú	*and also; and again; in addition*
kùrúsôn	*and what is more*
kùrúmân	*furthermore; moreover*
nâdə̂n	*there; in that place*
nâdə́mân	*right there; in that very place*
ngái	*thus; in that way*
ngái dùwô/dùwônyí ...	*it was that way though (until) ...*
sâdə̂n; sâ ádə̀n	*at that time; then*
sâdə́mân; sâ ádə̀mân	*right at that time; at that very time; right then; just at that time*
sâ ádə̀sôn	*during that whole time*
súsù ádə̀bèrò = cícì ádə̀bèrò	*instead of that*

súsùnzə́də́rò; súsùdə́rò	*instead of it/that; in its stead/place*
ngə́wùsórò	*normally; mostly; usually*
wándè	*now; now then; and then after that*
yàyé	*nevertheless; regardless; in any event*
yîmdə́à	*on that day*
yîm ádə̀à	*on that day*
zàmân kúrèbèlàdə̂n	*then in those former times*
zàmân ádə̀làn	*at this time/nowadays/these days*

Included in the above list are only the basic elements which function as adverbial conjuncts in Kanuri, together with certain commonly encountered variants of them. However with regard to the resumptive and the recapitulative functions of adverbial conjuncts as introduced in section 2 above, it is very often the case in discourse that an entire subordinated adverbial clause will be employed to perform these functions, rather than one of the above conjuncts, isolated in construction-initial position. Parts of the above conjuncts, and certainly the anaphoric elements, very often play a role in such resumptive and recapitulative adverbial subordinated clauses. The following are typical of adverbial clauses functioning in this role.

Sâ dàjí bə́làdə́à kòlzánàdə̂n ...	*At the time then when they left the town ...*
Tùssâi ádə̀gǎi dùwô ...	*They chatted on like that though until ...*
Kùrú fútù ngáwòmân bàyèntə́nàdə́gǎi ...	*... Furthermore as previously explained ...*
Sâ ádə̀ mànàjînlàdə̂n ...	*At this/that time while he was speaking ...*
Fútù gùlngə́nàdə́gǎirò ...	*Just as I said ...*
Wándè àwó gózə́nà ádə̀làn ...	*Well now with the thing that he took ...*
Sâ láá cítə̀nnyâ ...	*When a certain amount of time had passed ...*

It should be apparent that almost any of the adverbial clause types presented elsewhere in the present work can perform the resumptive and recapitulative role in discourse. The reader is referred to chapters 27, 29, and 31 for specific reference to the various adverbial clause types.

3. Adverbial Disjuncts. Adverbial disjuncts are similarly separated from the following main clause, usually by a pause. They do not however perform the anaphoric functions of connection, resumption and recapitulation as was the case with the adverbial conjuncts described above. Instead disjuncts are used to express an opinion or an evaluation of what is about to be said. Adverbials functioning as disjuncts may be phrases or clauses.

The following are a few of the elements which commonly function in the role of adverbial disjunct in Kanuri conversation and discourse.

wúmbènnà	*according to me*
shímbènnà	*according to him*
tə́mà wúbèlàdə̂n/tə́mà kǎkkèlàdə̂n	*in my own opinion/hope/expectation*
hâiyàrò	*in fact*
hâiyàmárò	*in fact*
hâiyànzə́də́	*the fact of the matter is*
kùrûnyídə̂nnà	*with regard to the way I see it*
wú kə̀lânyídə́à	*as for me myself*
kùrûnyídə̂n	*in the way I see it*
jírèrò/jírèmân	*in truth; truthfully*
àndí ìndí kàtélàn	*just between you and me*
(mánà) ádə̀ tók kòllə́míà	*leaving that matter completely aside*
àwó dùwô ádə̀máà kózə́nà nə̀májáppàlàn	*something though that is even more amazing than that is*

CHAPTER 29: TEMPORAL AND LOCATIVE ADVERBIAL CLAUSES AND EXPRESSIONS

1. Introduction. The elements functioning as subordinators of adverbial clauses in Kanuri are simply the oblique postpositions, which also function at the level of the simple postpositional phrase. The present chapter will be devoted to an analysis especially of a variety of temporal adverbial clauses and expressions, and as well of certain locative adverbial clauses and expressions. Many of the clauses and expressions to be analyzed here have been introduced elsewhere in the present work, since their use in temporal and locative functions represents an additional role that they take on in the language.

The postpositions which will play a crucial role in the analysis of the present chapter are:

locative/means/instrument postposition: +(là+)ǹ
indirect postposition: +rò
associative postposition: +(C+)à

Among the temporal and locative adverbial clauses to be treated are included only those for which some kind of temporal or locative noun head in clause-initial position is either overtly manifested, or is contextually understood. The temporal nouns which may occur in this head position are the Kanuri equivalents of the word *time*, thus sâ, sókkù, lóktù, hóktù, and wóktù. The most commonly occurring of these is sâ, and it is the head noun which is most commonly omitted and contextually understood. Also to be analyzed in the head noun role of clauses of this type are the indefinite pronoun counterparts of these same nouns, formed through the application of the indefinite/concessive suffix yàyé to their interrogative form (as introduced on page 52). These include sàbí yàyé, sàmbí yàyé, lóktùbí yàyé, hóktùbí yàyé, and wóktùbí yàyé, and all may be rendered in English by e.g. *whenever, no matter when, any time,* etc. Among the temporal clauses to be treated, it will be shown that those subordinated by the locative/means/instrument postposition are based on the complex NP construction with ant noun sâ, as introduced on pp. 227-8 (the basic structure of the NP and the complex NP being introduced in ch. 19). It will be shown that those subordinated by the associative postposition most often involve associative subordination of the verb emphasis completive (VEC) aspect of the verb, as fully described on pages 294 through 297. According to the present analysis of such clauses, one of the temporal head nouns is either overtly expressed or contextually understood in all cases, thus explaining why they frequently lend themselves to a temporal interpretation. Thus these clause types would seem also to represent a form of noun phrase, of the phrase structure *NP = N MOD+ASSOC*, where the modifier position is occupied by a verbal sentence, to which the associative postposition is applied. The possible variant forms of these clauses, and the role played in their structure by the various determiner and quantifier elements, lend credibility to their analysis as NPs.

Another type of temporal clause to be analyzed here is the type headed by kàwú. Clauses of this type usually involve durational time, and are best interpreted in English as headed by words like *until, before, (ever) since,* etc. Determiner and quantifier elements again play an important role in the structure of such clauses. As will be observed, both the locative/means/instrument postposition and the indirect postposition are used in the subordination of such clauses. They are not however clearly analyzable as based in NP constructions, for reasons which will be explained.

The locative clauses and expressions to be treated in the present chapter are similar in structure to the temporals described above. All involve an indefinite locative pronoun head, heading a NP construction, as will be shown.

2. Temporal Adverbials Subordinated by the Postposition +(là+)ǹ. All of the adverbial clauses treated here are formed simply through the application of the postposition +(là+)ǹ to a complex NP (relative clause construction) whose ant NP is one of the Kanuri words for *time*. The ant NP may be either overtly expressed or contextually understood. Such constructions always have a temporal adverbial meaning, and may be formed from either a verbless or a verbal complex NP, as introduced on on pages 227-28. As would be predicted by the description of the restrictive relative clause in ch. 23, the only affirmative aspects of the verb which may occur in verbal clauses within the complex NP are the imperfect and the perfect. Those in the imperfect most often have a durational interpretation, while those in the perfect most often have a fixed point in time interpretation.

Sâ kàsúwùrò lèzə́nàdə̂n górò kâiwò. Kàsúwùrò lèzə́nàdə̂n górò kâiwò.	*At the time that/When s/he went to the market s/he bought kola.*
Sâ kàsúwùrò lèjînlàdə̂n shíà cúrò. Kàsúwùrò lèjînlàdə̂n shíà cúrò.	*During the time that/While s/he was going to the market, s/he saw him/her.*

It is apparent that there is little, if any, difference in the interpretation of such clauses whether the head is overtly manifested or contextually understood. In the above examples, the post-RRC determiner position is filled by the anaphoric determiner element +də̂, resulting in the definite interpretation of factual past events. As shown in the following examples, a variety of determiner and quantifier elements may occur in that position, resulting in a wide range of meanings.

Sâ lèjîn wòsó(n) ...	*Every time s/he goes ...*
Lèjîn wòsó(ǹ) ...	*Every time s/he goes ...*
Sâ lèzə́nà wòsó(ǹ) ...	*Every time s/he went ...*
Lèzə́nà wòsó(ǹ) ...	*Every time s/he went ...*
?Sâ lèjînsôn ...	*?In all the times s/he goes ...*
Sâ lèzə́nàsôn ...	*In all the times s/he went ...*
(Sâ) lèjînmân shíà səwàndînbâ.	*Even when s/he goes he doesn't meet him.*
(Sâ) lèzə́nàmân shíà səwàndə̂nyí.	*Even when s/he went he didn't meet him.*

It should be pointed out that when the post-RRC determiner position of such clauses is filled by elements like +só, and +má, if there is no ant NP then the concessive clause interpretation is possible. Such constructions are dealt with in detail in the following chapter 30.

The following are supplementary examples of this temporal adverbial construction type.

Bískàmá (sâ) ngúrò láárò lèngîndə̂n cínnà kâm láábèn nápsə́nà múskònzə̂n ànzánzə́ cídàbèà shíà cúrúkò.	*Just yesterday while I was going to some quarter of the town I saw him seated in someone's doorway with his work implements.*
Sókkù gùmnátìndéyè kúngə́nà Ìngəlàmàrámdə́ cótrò fàlzə́nàdə̂n gàlìwùwónò.	*He got rich at the time that our government completely changed the English-based money system.*
Shíà rúiyénà wòsôn kəjî fànjînbâ.	*Every time we saw him he was not feeling well.*
Ngáwò (sâ) nyírò wú-à nyí-à Mákkàrò íshíyènbâ gùlngə́nàbèn ngámá wúà shíyàm?	*After (the time) I told you you and I would not come to Mecca together, why did you follow me?*
Kójìn wòsôn shíà lèfàngîn.	*Every time s/he passes I greet him/her.*
Lènə́mmàlàdə̂n àbírò fânnyírò dàgə̂mí?	*When you went why didn't you stop by my house?*
Sâ ádə̀ mànàjînlàdə̂n kənyérì dâ sámmá bəláárò sərtérə́gə́nà.	*This time while s/he was talking, the squirrel bundled the meat up and into the hole.*

The following examples represent this same kind of construction only with a verbless RRC subordinated by +(là+)ǹ.

(Sâ) shí rô(là)də̂n sàmbísó túrúiyèn.	*When s/he was still alive we saw each other all the time.*
(Sâ) (shí) rônzə́à(là)də̂n sàmbísó túrúiyèn.	*When s/he was still alive we saw each other all the time.*
Zàmân kûrè kûrèbè, (sâ) lìítà bâàlàdə̂n kâm bàrúyè sə́táià kàwú fíndìmân sə̀mèrînbâ.	*In former times, when there were no doctors, when a person got smallpox he would not recover even in 20 days.*
Wú mbéjídə̂n ísə́.	*Let him come while I am present.*
Kúngə́nànzə́àdə̂n Mákkàrò lèzə́.	*He should go to Mecca while he as money.*
kùdònzə́ kállàdə̂n ...	*right at the time that it was brought ...*
Múskònə́mmàlàdə̂n jê jìwínə́mbèà yàtté.	*Braid the rope for your water gourd while you still have your hands.*
Shûdə́, kánnúàdə́mân nâ ràámmàdə́rò dùngòkkə́gə́mìn.	*Iron, while it is hot you can bend it where you want.*

Some of the above examples which have no overt ant NP may not always readily permit the occurrence of an ant NP like sâ *time*. In the last few examples of the above set, and in all of the following examples, it seems that the locative postposition is being used to locate the action or accomplishment of the subordinated clause in an abstract state without specific reference to fixed or durational time either in the past or generically. Thus the ant NP position is best unfilled in such clauses, and likewise the post-clause determiner position is best unfilled. In certain cases the abstract state is a hypothetical state. As is clear from the following examples, when the subordinate clause is negative, an interpretation of *without having done/doing something* is frequently appropriate.

Lèngə́nàn kə̀jî fànə̂mbâ.	*(lit.: You will not feel well in I have gone.) You will not be happy with me gone.*
Àwòwá Kànúrìbè ngə́wù Yə̂rwàn də̀gánàn kə̀lîòn tə́mànzə́à.	*He has his hopes in learning a great deal about the Kanuri while living in Yerwa.*
Kə̀skádə́, gànánzə̂n nâ ràámmàdə́rò dùngòkkə́gə́mìn.	*The tree, in its youth (when it is small) you can bend it where you want.*
Kânə́m támmàn kádíà yèjé.	*Only try to kill the snake with your stick in your hand.*
Lènə́mmàlàn lúwùkə́nà wá?	*Did I go out (at all) while you were gone?*
Sáawù ádə̀bèrò jìlwá tə́mmárò kǎusù shîm kâmbè súrìnlàn déyàrò sùlúyìnbâ.	*That is why the rat never goes out during daylight where people can see him.*
Njî ádə̀yè wúà léjìnbâlàn fânnyírò lèngîn.	*I will get home without this water/rain ever touching me.*
Fànzə̂nyîn kúngə́nànzə́ ndàlngîn.	*(lit.: I will steal his money in the state of he didn't hear/feel.) I will steal his money without him feeling a thing.*
Sâ kúlònyí dîndə́rò gàákə́nàdə̂n ndárámá lèngə̂nyîn fə̂rnyíà bə̀láàyè gózə̀.	*When I entered into my old field, without my having gone anywhere my horse fell into a hole.*
Líntə̀nyîn kàsàlgátə̀.	*He bathed without undressing.*
Túrúiyèndə̂n lènə́míà kúttù.	*It would be sad if you go without our having seen each other.*

3. Temporal Adverbial Clauses Subordinated by the Associative Postposition.

All of the temporal adverbial clauses to be treated here involve associative subordination of the verb emphasis completive (VEC) aspect of the verb, and may be schematically presented as *VEC+ASSOC*. As is shown on page 297, this construction may be preceded by an overt head noun of time, whether it be the lexical noun sâ *time* or the indefinite pronoun sàmbí yàyé *anytime, whenever, no matter which time*. This elaborated structure may be schematically represented as *N VEC+ASSOC*. When the head noun is the lexical noun sâ, it is very often omitted leaving a sentence with a finite verb form in the VEC, subordinated by the associative postposition. Such constructions most often lend themselves to interpretation in English by a temporal future *(When X happens/has happened then Y will happen)* interpretation, or by a generic *(When(ever) X happens Y happens)* interpretation. In certain cases a conditional *(if)* interpretation may be appropriate, as described on pages 294 ff.

Wàjíà íshìn.	*(lit.: When the night has passed s/he will come.) S/He will come tomorrow.*
Bə́rnyídə́ kàsútù gójíà bə̀làdéyà shíà tàkùlkúlzò.	*When the city laughs it is the village that has tickled it.*
Kâm bàrèjînbâ rúmíà, shímá kam̂ bə̀làdéyàn də̀gánàsóbè lágə̀nzá wò.	*When you see a person who is not farming, it is he who is the most lazy of all the people in the village.*

In the following pair of examples, one is tempted to interpret them as relative clause constructions (e.g. for the first *The man whose planting is late ...)*, however the use of the associative to subordinate the VEC always entails a temporal interpretation, whether it be generic or future.

Kâm nàtònzə́ dàryèjíà, àrgə̂mnzə́ yé dàryèjîn.	*When a man's planting (sowing) is late, his millet (harvest) will also be late.*
Kâm súwà njîrò lèjíà, kǎusù dáwù dùwô sə̀wàndə̂ íshìn.	*When a person leaves to go for water in the morning, not until noon will he get to come back.*

Because of the generic interpretation of such constructions, they are very often used in expressing proverbs in Kanuri. For additional examples see pages 294 ff. In the following examples in which the temporal head noun is overtly manifested, the interpretation is normally of the temporal future type described above.

Sâ íshíà shíà rúkìn.	*When s/he comes back I will see him/her.*
Yîm kàwúnzə́ dàjíà kə́rmùrò kàjînbâ.	*When his days are done he will not be able to avoid death.*
Sókkù kúngə́nà bə̀lîn ádə̀ sùlúyíà shí báslàn wújìr tə̀dîn.	*When the new money comes out business will be done uniquely with it (alone).*

On the basis of the following variant forms of the associative subordinated VEC of the verb wà+ *to spend/pass the night*, it is apparent that in this environment where the temporal noun head is not normally overtly expressed, a variety of quantifier/determiner elements may possibly occur. This evidence may be used to confirm the analysis of these "subordinate adverbial clauses" as simply NPs of the type introduced in section 1 above, and described here. Therefore the overt or understood temporal head noun is the NP head, modified by an associative postpositional phrase in which a sentence is the object of the associative postposition, i.e. *NP = NP S+ASSOC*. All of the following are acceptable renditions of *every day*: wàjíà wòsó, wàjíà wòsôn, wàjíàsó, wàjíàsôn, wàjísó, wàjí wòsó, wàtə́ wòsó. According to the present analysis the occurrence of these determiner elements does not indicate that wàjíà is being reanalyzed as a noun, but rather that in the absence of the (omitted) temporal head noun, the determiner elements are then shifted to the post-associative postposition position.

3.1. The Role of the Indefinite Temporal Head Noun before Associative-Subordinated Clauses. When clauses of the type here under consideration are headed by a temporal noun like sâ determined by one of the indefinite or exhaustive quantifiers, or by an indefinite pronoun formed through the affixation of the indefinite/concessive suffix yàyé, then the construction will have two possible forms, as long as the head nominal is overt.

Sâ wòsôn íshíà kúngə́nà shîn.	*Every time when he comes he gives me money.*
Sâ íshíà wòsôn kúngə́nà shîn.	*Every time when he comes he gives me money.*

In the first of the above examples the determiner/quantifier element immediately follows the temporal head noun, and in the second it follows the entire associative-subordinated clause. There is according to our present knowledge, no semantic difference between these two variant forms. If the head noun is contextually understood, then only the determiner/quantifier position of the latter example is possible, as was the case with the examples in 3 involving wàjíà.

When the head is an indefinite pronoun in this type of clause then the same two positions are open. A slight difference in meaning between the two forms is suggested by the following translations. In this case it seems that the head of the indefinite pronoun is obligatory in order to retain the same interpretation. In its absence, as shown, the interpretation of the clause becomes concessive conditional, of the type described in chapter 30.

Sàmbí yàyé íshíà kúngə́nà shîn.	*No matter when when he comes he gives me money.*
Sàmbí íshíà yàyé kúngə́nà shîn.	*At any time/No matter when he comes he gives me money.*
Íshíà yàyé kúngə́nà shîn. Íshí yàyé kúngə́nà shîn.	*Even if he does come he will give me money.*

The following examples provide additional variations on the clause types here under consideration. In examples involving the indefinite pronoun as head, if the indefinite/concessive suffix follows the associative postposition, then it is apparent that the associative postposition becomes redundant and therefore optional.

Wóktùbí íshí(à) yàyé shíà rúkìn.	*No matter when he comes I will see him.*
Sàbí yàyé íshíà shíà rúkìn.	*No matter when when he comes I will see him.*
Sàbí yàyé íshíà wúà sə̀wàndînbâ.	*No matter when when he comes he will not find me.*
Sàbí yàyé súnyérò lèzáià, yânzə́-à kámànzə́-à sámmá kòlzə̂ shí tìlónzə́ kàráàrò lèjîn.	*No matter when when they would go to graze the animals, he would abandon his mother and his companions and go off into the bush alone.*
Cìdàrámmìn cìjíà máshídìà kàdùjîn; sàlìzə̂ sàlàmjíà wòsôn kəmândérò àdùzə́gìn hêr ngə́wùn shíà bàrgàzə́nàdə́rò.	*When he leaves work he goes to the mosque; every time when he has prayed and said his final salam, he would express his faith to God because he had blessed him with so much peace.*
Sâ wòsôn íshíà zə̀gé sàmjîn. (Sâ) íshíà wòsôn zə̀gé sàmjîn.	*Whenever/Every time when he comes he gives out presents.*
Sàmbí yàyé Yêrwàrò íshíà zə̀gé súwúdìn.	*No matter when when he comes he brings presents.*

Sàmbí Yêrwàrò íshíà yàyé zə̀gé súwúdìn.	*Any time/No matter when he comes to Yerwa he brings gifts.*
Sàmbí yàyé kâm tàwàjíà kǎusùrò kàjîn/kàjónò.	*No matter when when a person gets up early he avoids/will avoid the heat.*
Sàmbí kâm tàwàjí(à) yàyé kǎusùrò kàjîn/kàjónò.	*Any time /No matter when a person gets up early he avoids/will avoid the heat.*

It is clear from these examples and from the relative temporal adverbials -- examined earlier that the associative is used to apparently subordinate the VEC aspect of the verb in generic and future temporal adverbial clauses. For completive temporal adverbial clauses, the postposition +(là+)ǹ is used to apparently subordinate the perfect aspect of the verb. These observations are captured in the following examples.

Mə́ndè (sâ) Yêrwàrò ísə́nà wòsôn zə̀gé sàmgónò.	*Whenever/Every time he came to Yerwa last year he gave out gifts.*
*Mə́ndè (sâ) Yêrwàrò íshíà wòsôn zə̀gé sàmjîn.	
Sàmbí Yêrwàrò íshíà yàyé zə̀gé sàmjîn.	*Any time/No matter when he comes to Yerwa he brings gifts.*
*Sàmbí Yêrwàrò ísə́nà yàyé zə̀gé sàmjîn.	

4. Temporal Adverbial Clauses and Expressions Headed by kàwú. As introduced in section 1 above, clauses of durational time (e.g. *from point x on* and *up to/until point x*, etc.) are headed by kàwú. As a lexical item, the word kàwú means *day*, and is used when counting days but not to express a point in time as is apparent from the following examples. The Arabic borrowing yîm *day* is preferred to express a point in time and thus is used to head such temporal relative clauses.

yîmbí? kàsúwùbí? *kàwúbí?	*which day? when?*
yîm làmísə̀à *kàwú làmísə̀à	*on Thursday*
Yîm ísə́kə́nàdə̂n shíà cúrúkò.	*I saw him/her on the day that I came.*
≠*Kàwú ísə́kə́nàdə̂n shíà cúrúkò.	
kàwú yàkkə́ *yîm yàkkə́	*three days*

In its other and more widespread use in the language, kàwú apparently heads a wide range of temporal adverbial clauses and expressions, and in this use its interpretation is determined by the tense and aspect of the subordinate clause which follows it, as well as by the determiner/quantifier elements and postpositions which follow that clause. In this latter role, kàwú sets a point in time, and durational reference is made to an activity that is carried out in relation to that point in time. It would seem to be related to its erstwhile counterparts in other languages like the Hausa kafin *before*, and the Bambara kabini *since*, and it is possible that all may share a common other language source. In Kanuri it has nevertheless taken on a much wider range of interpretations than either of these counterparts in other languages. Whether kàwú is actually *heading* the clauses in which it occurs cannot be determined. It does not seem to function like the head noun of a normal relative clause construction, as is attested by the fact that the same restrictions on permissible aspects in the following clause do not apply (as will be observed). If it is the case that it was borrowed as a preposition from another language, then its rather enigmatic characteristics in Kanuri might be explained. It is sufficient to say that it has certain of the characteristics of a preposition, as well as certain of the characteristics of a noun heading a temporal relative clause construction. As is described in chapter 34, Kanuri has none of its own prepositions, only those that have been borrowed into the language.

The following two examples are typical of the type here under consideration in that they show subordination of the kàwú-clause first by the indirect postposition +rò, and in the latter by the locative etc. postposition +làn.

Kàwú njî yákìndə́rò bə́rì búkìn.	*I will eat before I drink water./Before I drink water I will drink.*
Kàwú nâ ádə̀ kòlngə́nàdə̂n àwó láa kúttù wààzə́nà wá?	*Has there been any trouble here since I left?/Since I left here has there been any trouble?*

Adverbial clauses of this type are among those, as is the case with certain reason clauses, which may violate the typological order of the language and occur postposed to their main clauses. Thus the above examples may also be produced in the following form with preceding main clause.

Bə́rì búkìn(,) kàwú njî yákìndə́rò.
Àwó láa kúttù wààzə́nà wá, kàwú nâ ádə̀ kòlngə́nàdə̂n.

Clauses headed by kàwú lend themselves to interpretation in English as headed by words like: *before, up to/until, since (temporal), from now on,* etc. The use of the postposition +rò usually implies reference to the time period prior to the event described in the verb phrase of the subordinate clause, and can thus be referred to as durational directional time towards that point in time. Therefore in the first of the above examples, food will be eaten during a time period prior to the point in time at which the water will be drunk. The imperfect aspect occurs in clauses like this one to refer to present, future, and imperfect past time periods in this directional way. The perfect does not occur in clauses headed by kàwú which are subordinated by +rò since reference cannot be made to the period prior to the event when the perfect occurs. In general, the use of the postposition +làn in such clauses makes reference to the time period after the event described by the verb phrase in the subordinate clause, and thus it most often occurs after clauses in which the perfect aspect occurs. +làn is distinct from +rò in this use since it may subordinate imperfect as well as perfect clauses. Thus the first of the above examples may be subordinated by either postposition, the second, not.

Kàwú njî yákìndə́rò bə́rì búkìn.	*I will eat before I drink water./Before I drink water I will eat.*
*Kàwú nâ ádə̀ kòlngə́nàdə́rò àwó láa kúttù wààzə́nà wá?	

This type of clause may also be used to refer to space and distance, in much the same way that e.g. the English *up until* may be used both temporally and spatially, as in the following examples.

Kàwú nâ ádə̀n sə̀tâ bə́làrò sádə́nàsó kúlò Shéhùbè.	*From here all the way to the town is the Shehu's farm.*
Lárdə̀ ànə́mbè kàwú lárdə̀ Júkùnsòbèrò sádə́nàsó cídíà Bórnòbèlàn kàrgâ.	*The country in the south as far as the country of the Jukun was under Borno rule.*

The system of determiners, quantifiers and emphatics, together with the postpositions, make possible a wide range of semantic subtleties in clauses of this type. The structure and its possible forms are represented schematically below. If kàwú is analyzed as a preposition, then it is possible to analyze the clauses which follow as headless relative clauses, from which the temporal noun sâ has been omitted as ant NP. This would explain all but those clauses in the past tense of the verb, which may not occur in relative clauses and to which this analysis would therefore not apply.

HEAD/ PREPOSITION	*OMITTED ANT NP*	*VERB ASPECTS*	*DET/ QUANT*	*EMPHATIC PARTICLE*	*POSTPOSITIONS/ SUBORDINATORS*	*MAIN CLAUSE*
kàwú	(sâ) (sâ) *	*imperfect* *perfect* *past* *neg comp*	+də́ +só wòsó	+má	+rò +(là+)ǹ	

4.1. The Forms and Functions of the Verbal kàwú-Clause. Each of the following data sets contains four examples, one with each of the four possible verb aspects which have been attested in kàwú-clauses. Each occurs with one of the possible combinations of the postposed elements represented in the above schema. In some cases kàwú is optional.

Kàwú ísə́kìnrò nânzə́rò lèngə́nà.	*I went to him before I came/was about to come.*
*Kàwú ísə́kə́nàrò ...	
*Kàwú kádíkòrò ...	
?Kàwú ísə́kə̀nyírò ...	

Kàwú ísə́kìnlàn shírò cákò.	*I gave it to him before I came.*
?Kàwú ísə́kə́nàlàn ...	
?Kàwú kádíkòlàn ...	
?Kàwú ísə́kə̀nyílàn ...	

Kàwú ísə́kìndə́rò kə́rà láa díkìn.	*I will do some studying before I come.*
*Kàwú ísə́kə́nàdə́rò ...	
*Kàwú kádíkòdə́rò ...	
*Kàwú ísə́kə̀nyídə́rò ...	

Kàwú ísə́kìndə̂n shírò mànàgə̀kə́nà.	*I spoke to him before I came.*
Kàwú ísə́kə́nàdə̂n fálrò shíà rúkə́nà.	*I saw him once before I came.*
*Kàwú kádíkòdə̂n ...	
*Kàwú ísə́kə̀nyídə̂n ...	

Kàwú ísə́kìnmárò háwàrnzə́ fàngə́nà.	*I heard about him even before I came/ started coming.*
*Kàwú ísə́kə́nə̀márò ...	
*Kàwú kádíkòmárò ...	
?Kàwú ísə́kə̀nyímárò ...	

Kàwú ísə́kìnmân ngáltémá shírò wá gùlngə̂nyí.	*I haven't said word one to him since I have been coming.*
(Kàwú) ísə́kə́nàmân ndárámá lèngə̂nyí.	*I haven't gone anywhere since I got here.*
(Kàwú) kádíkòmân kə̀lânyímá tùlùwúkə̀nyí.	*I haven't been out at all since I got here.*
Kàwú ísə́kə̀nyímân háwàrnzə́ fàngə́nà.	*I heard about him even before I had come here. (lit.: since I hadn't come here)*

Kàwú ísə́kìndə́márò lèngê shíà rúkə́nà.	*I went and saw him even before I came.*
*Kàwú ísə́kə́nàdə́márò ...	
*Kàwú kádíkòdə́márò ...	
*Kàwú ísə́kə̀nyídə́márò ...	

Kàwú ísə́kìndə́mân shírò mànàgə̀kə́nà.	*I spoke to him even before (that) I came.*
Kàwú ísə́kə́nàdə́mân tə́mmárò shíà rúkə̀nyí.	*I haven't seen him at all since (when) I came.*
*Kàwú kádíkòdə́mân ...	
Kàwú ísə́kə̀nyídə́mân shírò mànàgə̀kə́nà.	*I spoke to him even before I had ever come.*

Kàwú ísə́kìnsórò cídànyí díkìn.	*I will do my work up until I come./I was doing my work up until I came.*
?Kàwú ísə́kə́nàsórò ...	
?Kàwú kádíkòsórò ...	
?Kàwú ísə́kə̀nyísórò ...	

?Kàwú ísə́kìnsôn ...	
(Kàwú) ísə́kə́nàsôn wúrò fə́skà kə́rzə́gə́nà.	*S/He has shown me an angry face ever since I came.*
(Kàwú) kádíkòsôn wúrò fə́skà kə́rzə́gə́nà.	*S/He has shown me an angry face ever since I came.*
Kàwú ísə́kə̀nyísó(mâ)n hâlnzə́ ádə̀ bàdìzə́nà.	*S/He started behaving this way from the time that/ever since I stopped coming.*

?Kàwú ísə́kìnsó ...	
Kàwú ísə́kə́nàsó ndárámá lèngə̂nyí.	*I haven't gone anywhere ever since I came here.*
?Kàwú kádíkòsó ...	
?Kàwú ísə́kə̀nyísó ...	

Kàwú ísə́kìn wòsórò cídà dıkìnnà kàrgákò.	*All the time up until I came here I was busy working.*
?Kàwú ísə́kə́nà wòsórò ...	
?Kàwú kádíkò wòsórò ...	
?Kàwú ísə́kə̀nyí wòsórò ...	

Kàwú ísə́kìn wòsôn ngáltémá shírò shúnù káwàr gùlngə̂nyí.	*All the time since I have been coming here I have never said anything wrong to him.*
Kàwú ísə́kə́nà wòsôn ndárámá lùwúkə̀nyí.	*I haven't gone anywhere ever since I came here.*
Kàwú kádíkò wòsôn shíà shîm yèzə́kə́nà rúkìn.	*I have just been eyeing him ever since I came here.*
?Kàwú ísə́kə̀nyí wòsôn ...	

?Kàwú ísə́kìn wòsó ...	
(Kàwú) ísə́kə́nà wòsó dùwùlínyí cól gə̀nángə̀nyí.	*Ever since I had arrived I hadn't rested for a minute.*
(Kàwú) kádíkò wòsó ndúmáyè wúrò làlé gùlzə̂nyí.	*Ever since I had gotten there no one had even said hello to me.*
?Kàwú ísə́kə̀nyí wòsó ...	

The following examples from a variety of attested sources are presented to show how constructions of this type are used in texts and in conversation. Some of them represent interesting variations on the types already described and presented.

Kàwú dùwô ísə́mìndə́rò shí bùrwòzə̂ ísə́nà.	*Before you came though he had already come.*
Àmmá kàwú kə̀ngâlrò názə́gìndə́rò kə̀ngâl cùkkùrúwò.	*But before he could reach the sun the sun had gone down.*
Wúrò kàwú kə̀ngâl sùkkùrîndə́rò kúlwú-à gə̀májè-à dùtówó.	*Before the sun goes down, sew a gown and a shirt for me.*
Kàwú sòlúyìndə́rò kùrwúlìyè sàndírò "Ndú súróndôn kàngúlèrò dôi wò?" sə̀ cúwórò.	*Before they came out, the lion asked them, "Who is the fastest runner among you?"*
Kàwú dùwô nâdə́rò lènə́mìndə́ wú də́rîngè lèngîn.	*Before you go to that place though, I will circle around and go there.*
Kàwú ngúdò ádə̀ gə̀rə́mìndə́rò àwó fál nyírò gùlngîn ádə̀ fàné.	*Before you eat that bird listen to this one thing I am telling you.*
Àbí yàyé àwó tə̀dînmádə́ sámmá díkìn, kàwú sàndíà kàjâlàn sòtùlúyìndə̂n.	*No matter what it is that is done I will do it all before they come out of the circumcision ceremony.*

Kàwú shíà lòrùsàngê fə̂nnyírò kûkkìnlàdə̂n bótówò kúràbèn shíà cúrúkòrò wálwònòà shíà dùwàngé gùlzə́nà.	*If it happens that I see her next to the big one before I marry her and bring her to my house, I will slaughter her he said.*
Sùktà fál súksáià, kàwú fítsàidə́ lóktù kàdá gójìn.	*When they do one stitch, before they get it (the needle) out again it takes a lot of time.*

Lènyówó kàwú shìtəràzâidə́rò Álàyè sədíà shírò rônzə́ câbè yìkkə́kìn.	*Let's go and before they bury him I will put his (former) life back into him if God be willing.*
Àmmá kàwú wúà yèzúwìndə́rò dàjí wúrò ízə́nè shówó.	*But before you kill me give me some time.*
Wúà rónówó màirîn; lèzə́; kàwú lèzə̂ bə́lànzân íshìndə́rò.	*Keep me in the king's palace, let him go, up until he has gone and come back from his village.*
Kàwú ámànzə́ gàpsə́nà gəràsánnzá fáldə́ tàmòzâində̂n shí bəràm túlùrrà kózə́nà tàmòzô.	*Before his remaining counterparts could finish one string, he had finished 7 lengths of cotton string.*
Kàwú sùkkùrîndə̂n jánà fítsə̀ ngə́lài shírzə̀ bə́jì dúwùr láa sətàndə̂ kəlâdə́rò cùkkùrúwò.	*Before he fell he unsheathed a knife and cut up the palm leaves into strips, made a small mat and fell onto it.*
Kàwú lèngê ísə́kìndə̂n ndárò dâdə́à cìkkə̂m?	*Before/Since I went and came back where did you put the meat?*
Àmmá kàwú rəmgnîndə̂n sáwànyí mâinà bówóngè shírò fə́léjíwòkò.	*But before I buried him I called my friend the prince and showed it to him.*
Kùrwúlì sàndíà kàdùzə̂ fál fálrò sətâ səndô kàwú kùlúwùrò názáyìnrò.	*The lion followed them and grabbed and swallowed them one by one before they could reach the lake.*
Wú yé kàwú zəmnə́mìndə̂n yàngênə́m fànə̂mílàn lînngìn.	*I will remove your pants without your realizing it before you come down.*
Kàwú íshìndə́rò kùwîsò tádà kàdá sàsàmbí.	*Before he came the chickens had had many chicks.*
Kàwú Yêrwàrò kádíkò wòsôn ndúmá wúrò nəmkâm fə́lézə́gə̀ nòngə̂nyí.	*Since I came to Yerwa I don't know anyone who has shown me a sign of friendship.*
Kàwú shíà làkkànə̂m kàsàtcîndə́ dìnâmá cìjîn.	*Before you can convince him and he agrees the world will end.*
Kàwú tàmbûmímân cídà díkìn.	*I was working even before you were born.*
Kàwú tàmbùkə̂nyídə́rò nâdə̂n cìdàjîn.	*He was working there before I was born.*
Kàwú màirùjînrò ísə́kìn.	*Before dusk I will come.*
Kàwú màirùjîn wòsórò cìdàngîn.	*I will work up until dusk.*

In the following pair of examples, a kàwú-clause subordinated by +làn is followed by the occurrence of bùrwó *first*, also marked by the same postposition. This somehow more explicitly shows that the action of the main clause happened before the action of the subordinate clause occurred. This is used only when the subordinated clause is in the negative completive.

Kàwú ísə́kə̂nyîn bùrwônrò lèné shírò gùllé ísə̀ wúà jézə́.	*Prior to when I return go and tell him he should come and wait for me.*
Kàwú ísə́kə̂nyîn bùrwôn lèngê shíà fânnzə́làn rúkə́nà.	*Prior to when I came back I went and saw him at his house.*
Kàwú wàzə́nàmân shíà rúkə̀nyí.	*I haven't seem him all day/since morning.*

In +rò-subordinated kàwú-clauses with an imperfect aspect verb form, a morpheme which is apparently the predicating particle wò may occur following the clause and immediately preceding the determiner position, as shown in these examples.

Kàwú hóktù zə́màbèrò lètə́bè sətîn wòdə́rò àbímá wúà shìwòlzə́nà báwò.	*Up until the time of going to the Friday mosque there is nothing that is distracting/occupying me.*
Kàwú sâ dégə́ sətîn wòdə́rò íshìn.	*He will come before it reaches 4 o'clock.*

In such constructions, the predicating particle is optional. When the predicating particle occurs, the verb sətîn *reach* may be omitted.

Kàwú hóktù zə́màbèrò lètə́bè sə̀tîndə́rò àbímá wúà shìwòlzə́nà báwò.	*Until the time of going to the Friday mosque there is nothing occupying me.*
Kàwú hóktù zə́màbèrò lètə́bè wòdə́rò àbímá wúà shìwòlzə́nà báwò.	*Before the time of going to the Friday mosque there is nothing occupying me.*
Kàwú sâ dégə́ sə̀tîndə́rò íshìn.	*He will come before it reaches 4 o'clock.*
Kàwú sâ dégə́ wòdə́rò íshìn.	*He will come before it is 4 o'clock.*

Clauses of duration from one point in time to or towards another point in time may be formed by setting the starting point with the postposition +làn and marking the goal time with the postposition +rò. Such constructions may also refer to duration in space, as introduced in section 4 above.

Kàwú nâ ádə̀n sə̀tâ bə́làrò sádə́nàsó kúlò Shéhùbè.	*From here all the way to town is the Shehu's farm.*
Lárdə̀ ànə́mbè kàwú lárdə̀ Júkùnsòbèrò sádə́nàsó cídíà Bórnòbèlàn kàrgâ.	*The country in the south as far as Jukun country was under Borno rule.*
Kàwú ádə̀làn sə̀tâ kûrò kádìo wòsó ngə́là.	*Taking from that all the way up until today it has been good.*
Kàwú yîmdə̂n sə̀tâ kádìo wòsó gàdérò túrúiyèndé.	*Starting from that day onward we never saw each other again.*

When wòsó occurs in the determiner position and the subordinated clause is in one of the permissible completive aspects, then as was noted earlier, the kàwú may be omitted.

Bàrgànə́mìn, dòndìnə́mmà wòsó wú nâ fálnyìn fàndə́kè námngə̂nyí.	*Your highness, ever since you got sick I haven't had a chance to stay in one place.*
Àmmá yàyé kátènzân nə̀msáwànzámá bâ hâr kûrò káshò wòsó.	*But even so, there has been no friendship between them even all the way up until today.*
Ísə́kə́nà wòsórò kə̀jî fàngînbâ.	*Ever since I came I have been sick.*

When in the imperfect aspect, clauses of this type may not be interpreted as kàwú-clauses from which the kàwú has been omitted. They are instead amenable to interpretations like the following.

Sórìn wòsó tàdàwá ngâmbè ngə̀wùzâi, tàdàwá kùwîbè-à jìlwábè-à bârò wálzài.	*The more they looked/every time they looked, the cat's children increased and the chicken's and rat's children became none.*
Ísə́kìn wòsórò ...	*The more often I come ...*
Dòndìnə́mìn wòsórò ...	*The more often you get sick ...*
Dòndìnə́mìn wòsó(ǹ) ...	*Every time you get sick ...*

4.2. Adverbial Expressions Involving kàwú. In the following examples, the same kàwú is used to head a variety of adverbial expressions which do not represent verbal subordinate clauses. Most represent adverbial adjuncts to the sentence.

Kàwú fájàr wòsórò cídà díkìn.	*I've been working ever since morning.*
Kàwú fájàr wòdə́rò ísə́kìn.	*I will come before morning.*
Kàwú sâ yàkkə́ wòà/wòdə́rò ...	*Before 3 o'clock ...*
Kàwú ádə̀ wòsórò yíwùkíà ngə́là.	*It is good for me to buy it up until that time/then.*
(Kàwú) sâ úwù ngáwò wòsórò ...	*All the time prior to 5 o'clock ...*
Kàwú fúwùàsó wú yâànànzə́.	*From that time/now on I was/am like his brother.*
Kàwúdə́márò ...	*Even before that/then ...*
Kàwúdə́másə̂n ...	*Right up until that time/then ...*
Kàwúdə̂n ...	*Before then/that ...*
Kàwú ádə̀rò ...	*Before that, up until that ...*

4.3. Other Adverbial Expressions of Time and Duration. Here are included a variety of other temporal adverbial adjuncts which do not necessarily represent a distinct construction type but are nevertheless quite important to the student of the Kanuri language.

In order to express the notion *ago* in Kanuri, one simple states the event followed by the time period involved following a present time adverb, usually kû *today*, as shown here.

Ísə́nà kû kàwúnzə́ dégə́.	*He came 4 days ago.*
Shíà rúkə́nà kû kàwú ìndí.	*I saw him 2 days ago.*
Wánéè kû kə́rwù mèwúgâi.	*Maybe about 10 days ago.*
Kû kàwú mèwú.	*10 days ago.*

The following are adverbial adjuncts based in the adverb kùwá *at this time, by now, about now* which could be related to kàwú through metathesis. It is more likely somehow derived from kû *today* plus the associative postposition (Skinner, personal communication). The meanings will vary in different contexts.

kùwá	*at this time, by now, about now*
kùwâsó(rò)	*up until right now*
kùwâsôn	*up until and including now*
kùwámìsôn	*still*
kùwá yàyé	*still*
kùwámì yàyé	*still*
kùwá ngái	*about now, at a time like this*
kùwâgâi	*about now, at a time like this*
kùwádə́	*right about this time*
kùwádə́rò/kùwállò	*at this time*
kùwá yàyémân	*even now*

Rânggè kùwádə́ gərêngìnbâ.	*I cannot wait any longer.*
Kùwá ngái bónèrò dàtên.	*At this time it is too early to sleep.*
Bískà kùwá ngái àndí Yêrwàn	*Yesterday at this time we were in Yerwa.*
Câ dàtên ísə́mmàà kùwá ngái tàmònyénà.	*If you had come early/on time, we would have finished by now.*
Bískà kùwâgâi wú fátò Tújàsòbèlàn.	*Yesterday at this time I was in Tijani's (and his family's) house.*
Kùwámì yàyé kàsànngə̂nyí.	*I still have not agreed.*
Kùwámìsôn ndúnzámáyè shíà súrûnyí.	*Not one of them has yet seen him.*
Kùwâsôn câm yámìnnà kàrgâm rá nyíà sətə́nà?	*Are you still there drinking milk or have you had enough?*
Kùrú kùwá yàyé wàndé àjàmnə̂mí.	*Not yet, don't be amazed yet.*
Kùwámì yàyé àndírò nâ lènyênmá gùlzânyí.	*They still have not even told us where we are going.*

5. Adverbial Clauses of Place Involving an Indefinite Pronoun Head. These clauses are included here because they represent the locative counterpart of the temporal adverbial clauses examined earlier in this chapter. Such clauses may not occur with verbs subordinated by the associative postposition, since such constructions can only be interpreted temporally as observed earlier. These examples are simply relative clause constructions headed by an indefinite pronoun involving the indefinite/concessive suffix yàyé. This suffix may occur either after the verb form of the relative clause, or after its interrogative pronoun head.

Ndárá lèjîn yàyé jánànzə́ múskònnà lèjîn.	*No matter where he goes he goes with his knife in his hand.*
Ndárá yàyé lèjîn jánànzə́ múskònnà lèjîn.	*No matter where he goes he goes with his knife in his hand.*
Ndárá yàyé kâmsò sáptánà rúmíà dàjí nâdə̂n kàsúwù nápsə́nà rúmìn.	*No matter where when you see people gathered you will see a market set up there.*

Ádə̀ nànkàrò ndárá lèzâi yàyé, nə́ngə̂lì sâ bárèbè sə̀tíà ísài.	*That is why no matter where they go, in the rainy season when the time to farm arrives they come back.*
Ndárá yàyé mbéjímáà, fàndə́mìn.	*No matter where if there are some, you will find them.*

CHAPTER 30: CONCESSIVE ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

1. Introduction. Concessive adverbial clause constructions are used to express a contrast between two circumstances or situations, one contained in the antecedent subordinate adverbial clause and the other in the consequent main clause. The main clause in such constructions may be referred to as the *contraexpectation* clause since it very often goes against the intentions or efforts described in the concessive clause. Kanuri concessive clauses which are marked by any of the postposed elements which may function as concessive clause subordinators, are interpretable in English as being subordinate by e.g. *although, even though, even if, though,* etc. Treated together in this chapter are the normal concessive clause, and also the concessive-conditional clause (i.e. *even if* ...), or *potential* clause. All the clause-types treated in this chapter represent a subclass of the sentence adverbials or adverbial clauses of the language. In accordance with the SOV typology of the language, these subordinate clauses normally precede a main clause.

The concessive adverbial clause construction is therefore arranged according to the following phrase structure arrangement:

S = subordinate clause+subordinator PAUSE main clause

In the subordinator position of the above phrase structure arrangement, any of the following postposed elements may occur as subordinators of the concessive clause types indicated:

subordinator	*clause type*
+só(+ǹ)	*concessive*
+má(+ǹ)	*concessive (+negative main clause)*
yàyé	*concessive(-conditional); potential*
dùwô	*concessive*

Concessive clauses for which the adjunct dùwô functions as subordinator are examined in chapter 32, which is devoted to all of the uses of dùwô.

Some of the meaning differences which result from the use of the various subordinating elements are reflected in the following example set in which the subordinate clause is a nonverbal predicate of identification.

Shí tálááàsôn, kàrə́gə̀nzə́ kə̀jî.	*Although he is poor, he is happy.*
Shí tálááàmân, shírò yíkìnbâ.	*Even though he is poor, I won't give to him.*
Shí táláà yàyé, kàrə́gə̀nzə́ kə̀jî.	*Even if/though/although he is poor, he is happy.*
Shí táláà dùwô kàrə́gə̀nzə́ kə̀jî.	*Though he is poor, he is happy./ He is poor but he is happy.*

2. Concessive Clauses Subordinated by +só(+ǹ). In this form of concessive subordination, the morpheme +só may or may not be followed by the application of the locative/means etc. postposition in its short form as +ǹ. This form of concessive subordination may be applied either to a nonverbal sentence, as shown above, or to a verbal sentence. When applied to a verbal clause, it is usually the case that the action described by the verb actually took place. The implication is that though the action took place, it did not achieve the desired results which are made clear in the subsequent main clause. The implication may also be that the action of the verb was either repeatedly or continuously attempted either in vain or followed by failure. Thus the

main clause presents a circumstance that is contradictory to or contrasted with the concessive antecedent, possibly describing the situation resulting from the non-realization of the concessive clause.

It is likely that this morpheme +só is the same morpheme which also functions as an indefinite quantifier/determiner, which when modifying a NP is translatable by e.g. *all, every,* and other exhaustive indefinites. It was observed in the formation of indefinite pronouns from interrogative pronouns, e.g. ndúsó *everyone* from ndú *who?* (see chapter 7). These two uses may be correlated by the observation that when it does subordinate a verbal subordinate clause (with a concessive interpretation), the implication may be that the action was attempted repeatedly, as described above. Syntactically therefore, when it follows a NP the interpretation is that of an indefinite quantifier/determiner, and when it follows a subordinate clause, the interpretation is concessive. The relation between these two functions is apparent in the following examples. This morpheme +só should not be confused with the collective plural marker +sò.

ádə̀sôn	*in spite of all that*
sôn kál	*even so; it doesn't matter; nevertheless*
sámmásó	*all; all of them*
àbísó	*everything*
ndúàndúànàsó	*each and every one of them (human)*

The two possible interpretations of the following nonverbal examples show rather conclusively that the quantifier/determiner morpheme and the concessive subordinator morpheme are in fact the same morpheme.

Súró bə́lànzábè sámmásôn(,) férò fál lóng.	*In their whole town/Even in their whole town(,) there was only one single girl.*
Sàndí sámmásôn(,) kâm ngə́là fálmá bâ.	*Among all of them/Even among all of them/ In spite of all of them(,) there was not one single good person.*

In the following verbal examples, again the relation between the quantifier/determiner role and the concessive role are readily apparent.

Àbísó sàdô.	
àwó sàdə́nàsó ...	*everything they did/though they did something ...*
àbí sàdôsó(ǹ) ...	*whatever they did ...*
Àwó sàdə́nàsó(,) tádà mâibèdə́yè wáwònò.	*Everything they did was rejected by the king's son./Though they did something, the king's son rejected it.*
Àbí sàdôsó tádà mâibèdə́yè wáwònò.	*Whatever they did the king's son rejected it.*
Wàzə́nàsôn bànnàtə̂nyí.	*Although it became morning/Ever since morning, it hasn't broken down.*

The following examples demonstrate the uses of concessive clauses subordinated by +só(+ǹ). It is worth noting that the verbal clauses subordinated in this way are nearly always in the past tense. The following main clause may be affirmative or negative.

Dàjí dámgà zə̀psə̂ ísə̀ ngáwò kùdùkàrèàbè kóksə̀ kùrú wáltə̀ kókkònòsó, àbímá gózə́nà bâ.	*Then the hawk swept down and through he pecked and pecked at the turtle's shell, he got nothing at all.*
Súwà-à kàjírí-à fómgònòsó, kə̀mbû sə̀wàndə̂nyí.	*Although he wandered around morning and night, he didn't find food.*
Kàwú ìndírò lèwónòsôn, nâdə́ sə̀wàndə̂nyí.	*Although he walked for two days he did not find the place.*

Sâ dàgə̀lwásò fátòrò lèzánàlàdən mèmèyádàsó kámânzá fál bâ.	*At the time that all the monkeys had gone home, look at each other though they might, one of their number was not there.*
Wáltà ìsàpkádàsó kámânzá fál bâ.	*Count and recount each other though they might, one of their number was not there.*
Mâinzáyè sàndíà bówózə̀ 'àbí kámânzá fálrò wààzə́gò?' sə̀ cúwóròsó, ndúmá àwó wààzə́nàdə́à nòzə̂nyí.	*Their king called them and though he asked and asked 'what happened to one of their number?', no one know what had happened.*
Bówójìnsó, Álì mànàtə́rò wájí.	*Though he kept on calling, Ali refused to speak.*
Bû kájìbè cídírò fítə́nà(-à) kàttînzə́-àsôn sùlórə̀ sə̀ndí.	*Though the guinea fowl's blood which had spilled on the ground was very muddy, he gathered it up and swallowed it./He gathered up and swallowed the guinea fowl's blood which had spilled on the ground together with the mud and all.*
Nâ kánnúbèrò lèwókòsó, kánnú rúkə̀nyí wáltə́kè kádíkò.	*Though I went to the place of the fire, I couldn't see the fire and I returned.*
Shíà mámámâwòkòsó, fàndə́kə̀nyí.	*Though I looked and looked for him I did not find him.*
Ísə̀m ndúmá rúmmà bâsó, nânyírò ísə̀m súwórə̀mídə́ ngâmá?	*Though you came and didn't see anyone, why is it that you didn't come and ask me?*
Àwó díkə̀nyí bâsó ngàzə̂nyí.	*Although there was nothing that I didn't do, he did not get well.*
Am bə́làbè sáptàà ngódówàdàsó, ngúdòdə́ kòltə́rò wâwònò.	*Though the townspeople gathered and pleaded, he refused to release the bird.*
Málə̀myè kàsàtsə̂ dámgà shíà sápkònòsó, kádíà súrûnyí.	*The malam agreed and though the hawk searched him, he did not see the snake.*
Lèwókò lèwókòsó, sàmbí yàyé shí fátòn sùlùwúnà.	*Though I went and went, he had always gone out of the house.*
Zə́wə́t tə́lə́srò cìdàwónòsôn, cídànzə́ tàmòzə̂nyí.	*Although he worked all day long, he did not finish his work.*

2.1. Alternative Concessive-Conditional Clauses Subordinated by +sôn. Two verb phrases may be conjoined by marking each with the associative postposition and marking the combination with +sôn to produce an alternative concessive-conditional clause. Each of the verb phrases of course represents one of the alternatives, as shown in the following example.

Ràámmà-à wánə́mmà-àsôn, cídàdə́ dímìn.	*Whether you like it or not you will do the work.*

Such clauses may also be formed through the application of yàyé, as will be observed below.

3. Concessive Clauses Subordinated by +má(+ǹ). Concessive clauses of this type appear to be subordinated by the emphasis marker +má, which has a variety of emphatic and concessive uses, nearly always together with the short form of the locative/means/instrument postposition +n. Clauses of this type are always followed by a negative main clause. They seem to occur much less often as concessive clauses than do the clauses of section 2, and in form they very much resemble the kàwú clauses with the same subordinator form which are described in chapter 29. These clauses

very often have some kind of a temporal reading as well as their concessive reading. They have been attested only in the perfect aspect, among the affirmative completive aspects. They may not be used to imply that the action of the verb was repeatedly attempted, followed by failure, as was the case with those in the past subordinated by +só(+ǹ). Instead, when in the perfect aspect, the implication is that the action was carried out only once.

Wàzə́nàmân shíà rúkənyí.	*I haven't seem him since morning./Even though it became morning I didn't see him.*
Ìsə́nàdə́mân, kəndênzə́ ràâmí, shí kə́rdì nànkàdə́rò.	*Even when/Even though he came, you did not like his coming because he was a non-Muslim.*
Lèngînmân, shíà fàndə́kìnbâ.	*Even when/Even though I go, I don't find him.*

4. Concessive-Conditional Clauses Subordinated by yàyé. Adverbial clauses referred to as *concessive-conditional* clauses are very often subordinated by *even if* in English. In such constructions, the main clause describes a state or an event which will exist or be carried out *even if* and regardless of whether or not the state or event described in the concessive-conditional clause holds. In Kanuri, such constructions contain clauses subordinated by yàyé, here a subordinator, which probably represents a fossilized combination of the associative postposition and the additive adjunct yé *also*. The two have apparently combined to form an indivisible unit for this concessive-conditional purpose, a unit that does not assimilate to preceding consonants and which is thus written autonomously according to the SKO.

Apart from its functions as a subordinator, yàyé also functions to 1) form indefinite or universal pronouns from interrogative pronouns as a concessive adjunct, 2) conjoin noun phrases as an alternative correlative conjunction, and 3) connect sentences in discourse as a construction-initial adverbial conjunct meaning *nevertheless*.

4.1. yàyé as Subordinator of Nonfinite and Nonverbal Clauses.

Wú bâ yàyé àbí wò?	*Even if I weren't here what difference would it make?*
Cólcól yàyé dəmbərnə́mlàn nâmné.	*Even though it is very small, sit down on your buttocks.*
Dê yàyé dəmbámá gándé.	*Even though it is empty, lick the calabash gourd.*
Dùwùlwùlìmí yàyé kəmbûmànzə́bèn dâ.	*Even if it is only a lizard, it is meat in the eyes of its predator.*
Árzəgímàdə́, súró kəmádúwùbèn yàyé njî sə̀làdín.	*The favored (blessed) person, even if he is in the river, he will sell water.*
Sə́mònə́m bə́jì màláfàgâi yàyé kàsùwánə́m fànəmbâ.	*Even if your ears are large like the malafa mat, you will not hear people gossiping about you.*
Dàátà yàyé súrìnbâ.	*Even though he is standing up, he doesn't see it.*
Njî kəmkə́mbè núwànə́m wò yàyé, yâmí dùwô nûmbâ.	*Even if it is the water that has washed the poisonous kemkem fruit that is your lot in life, you won't die as long as you don't drink it.*

4.2. yàyé as Subordinator of Finite Verbal Clauses. The following are concessive-conditional clauses in the VEC aspect. Many are proverbs.

Bárwù kàlìímòbèdə́, dùwùdùwùjí yàyé, nâ zâr yìkkòbèlàdə̂n cìzə̂ dâtə̀nzə́ tàmòjîn.	*The camel thief, sneak and crawl though he may, he will have to stand up to his full height when it comes to putting on the harness.*
Zàzə́rmàdə́, càrìjí yàyé, jòlòjólónzə́ gə̀rótìnbâ.	*No matter how old the leopard may become, it will not lose its spots.*
Àmmá lènə́mí yàyé kàsháàrdə́ fàndò bâ.	*But even if you go, there will be no finding the sword.*
Àwó díwì sə̀dí yàyé, shíà fìsàtcîn.	*Even if/when he does something bad, she will tell on him.*
Kádí ngàwùrè kùrúwùàdə́, də́rínə́mí yàyé, də́rítìnbâ.	*No matter how far you go around the long-tailed snake to avoid it, it cannot be avoided.*
Dìnâdə́má dìnàjí yàyé, kàlìímòdə́ tə́mmárò njê tìlóyè déjìnbâ.	*The world, no matter how worldly it may become, the camel will never be cooked in one cooking pot.*
Kwângâdə́, shíà kúlwú ìndídə́máyè sàndí yàyé, mánà ìndídə́yè sàndînbâ.	*A man, even though he can put on double gowns that will suit him, double talk will never suit him.*
Tàwàjí yàyé, násə̀gìnbâ.	*Even if he gets up early, he won't catch me.*

The following are additional examples of this type of clause in other aspects of the verb. The first is in the imperfect, the others in the negative completive.

Kû bówónə́míà bálì yéjìn yàyé, kâmmàmá də̀gái wò.	*When you call him today and even if he doesn't answer until tomorrow, you should always live/stay/be with people.*
Wúà nòzânyí yàyé, sàndí sámmásóà wúràrò wúrò lèfàné.	*Even if they don't know me, greet all of them for me.*
Dâl bòlòlòzə̂ dùwō tádà sàmbînnà; ngə́lárò bòlòlòzə̂nyí yàyé tádà sàmbîn.	*The he-goat bleats first and then bears a child (impregnates the she-goat); even if the ram doesn't bleat, he still bears a child (i.e. impregnates).*

4.3. Universal Concessive-Conditional Clauses. The following set of examples may be referred to as *universal concessive-conditional* clauses. In each example, an interrogative pronoun plays its indefinite or universal role, in much the same way that it does in the formation of the indefinite or universal pronouns like e.g. ndú yàyé *whoever, no matter who.* The structure of these clauses is very similar to that of the NP. The reader is referred to the temporal adverbial clauses of chapter 29, some of which were of the following form: sàbí íshí yàyé ... *no matter when he comes/whenever he comes ...* Nearly all these examples are in the VEC.

Àbí díkí yàyé, rânggè shíà njèssə̀ngînbâ.	*No matter what I do I cannot forget him.*
Àbí sə̀dí yàyé, ngə̀làjînbâ.	*No matter what he does he will not get any better/improve.*
Àbí shírò dímí yàyé, fànjîn kàrə́gə̀nzə̂n.	*No matter what you do to him, he feels it in his heart.*
Àbígǎirò ngə̀nə̀ptə́kí yàyé, rânggè mánànzə́ fàngînbâ.	*No matter how hard I try, I cannot understand his talk.*
Àbí wúà sə̀wàndí yàyé, fútù kə̀lânyíà mòwòbèdə́ nòngə́nà.	*No matter what happens to me, I know how to save my skin.*

Àbí wààjín yàyé, kə̀skádə́rò bákìn.	*No matter what happens I am going to climb the tree.*
Ndárân kàrgâm yàyé rángnə̀m fə̄rnə́m rónə̀mìn.	*No matter where you live you can keep a horse.*

4.4. Alternative Concessive-Conditional Clauses.

Lènə́mìn yàyé, lènə̂mbâ yàyé, lámbínyí bā.	*No matter whether you go or whether you don't go, I don't care.*

CHAPTER 31: ADVERBIAL CLAUSES SUBORDINATED BY THE ASSOCIATIVE POSTPOSITION

1. Introduction. It has been suggested that in certain languages a significant syntactic and semantic relation exists between adverbial clause constructions and topic/focus constructions. In his treatment of Ngizim syntax, Schuh (1972) justified treating topicalized noun phrases together with sentence level adverbs not only because of their syntactic similarity, but also their "semantic commonality", since both construction types "state antecedent conditions to the main clause, bring into the foreground some aspect of the main clause, or both" (323). Thompson (1977) wrote that in many languages both adverbial clauses and topics:

1) are sentence-initial
2) need not be an argument of the main predication
3) perform the discourse dependent role of linking an antecedent to a main clause
4) (à la Chafe, 1976) set a "spatial, temporal or individual framework within which the main predication holds" (37-8).

Haiman (1978) demonstrated the relation between conditional clauses and topics through the following definitions of each:

A conditional clause is (perhaps only hypothetically) a part of the knowledge shared by the speaker and his listener. As such, it constitutes the framework which has been selected for the following discourse. (583)

The topic represents an entity whose existence is agreed upon by the speaker and his audience. As such, it constitutes the framework which has been selected for the following discourse. (585)

These sources are cited here because in Kanuri, not only are the two construction types related semantically, as these authors have described, but also they may be identical in syntactic formation. In chapter 25 it was shown that the associative postposition functions as a NP status marker which is used to left dislocate a NP, followed by a pause, and marking that NP as a contrastive topic. All conditional clauses of Kanuri both nonverbal and verbal, are formed in exactly the same way, thus providing strong support for the relationship proposed by Haiman (1978). In isolation out of the discourse context therefore, a NP marked by the associative plus a pause may be interpreted either conditionally or as a contrastive topic.

Álìà, ...	*If it is Ali, ...* *ALI, .../As for ALI, ...*

A left dislocated NP that is marked for this status by the associative, is not necessarily separated from a following finite verb form in which it is an argument by a pause. The pause is required however when such a NP is followed by a pronoun copy of itself. In conditional clauses, the pause is more consistently produced. Some of the range of possibilities are shown in the following examples, where the pause is indicated by a comma.

Nòngənyí.	*I don't know.*
Wú nòngə̂nyí.	*I don't know.*
Wúà nòngənyí.	*Me I don't know.*
Wúà, nòngə̂nyí.	*If it is me (e.g. that you are asking), I don't know./As for me, I don't know.*

It will be the purpose of the present chapter to examine all of the clause types that are subordinated by the associative postposition. It will be shown that conditionals are not the only clauses subordinated in this way.

The reader should keep in mind the similarities between these associative-subordinated clauses and the associative-focussed NP: both are in initial position, marked by the associative postposition, and may be followed by a pause.

2. Associative Subordination of Nonverbal Clauses. Almost any nonverbal sentence may be subordinated by the associative postposition and occur in initial position as a conditional clause. Both juxtapositional and most nonaspect verbal sentences as well may be subordinated in this way.

Álì mbéjíà, shíà lèfàné.	*If Ali is there, greet him.*
Nānzə̂n bâà, kàkkê góné.	*If s/he doesn't have one, take mine.*
Áwò kəmbûbè bâà, kənâà dəbdònyên.	*If there is nothing to eat, we will spend the day hungry.*
Shí rônzə́àà, àlhâmdùlìlláhì.	*If s/he is alive, thank God.*
Álì gənyíà, shíà lèfàngînbâ.	*If it is not Ali, I won't greet him.*
Fálìmáà, sə́lə́m bâ.	*If it is watermelon (that you are talking about),there are no black ones.*

Below observe associative subordination of a locative postpositional phrase with temporal interpretation.

(Sâ) wúàlàdənnà, ísənyí, (Sâ) wú mbéjílàdənnà, ísənyí,	*(both =) If it is while I was there (that you are talking about), s/he did not come; /As for while I was there, s/he did not come;*
wándè wú bâlàdən gənyí kádìò.	*that is unless s/he came while I was not there.*

In the above examples, the locative postposition marks a temporal adverbial clause, as described in detail on page 270.

2.1. Associative Subordination of the Nonaspect Verbal gənyí. As introduced on page 178 gənyí is the negative nonverbal predicate of identification, description, and location. When subordinated by the associative, the literal translation of the combination might be: *if it is/was/were not*. In usage, the combination lends itself to English translation by any of the following: *if not, except for, unless, apart from, other than, etc*. This combination may be pronounced and written in any of the following ways: gənyíà, gənyâ, nyíà, nyâ, and sometimes even nâ.

Yêrwàn gənyâ bòngînbâ.	*Unless in Maiduguri, I won't sleep.*
Shí gənyâ ndúmá lèfàngînbâ.	*Unless/apart from him, I won't greet anyone.*
Ádə̀ gənyâ, ràákə́nà bâ.	*Except for that/Otherwise, there are none that I like.*
Álàlàn gənyâ, áləgəlàn kəndòwá bâ.	*Except through God, creatures can do nothing.*
Ílmùlàn nyâ, àbímá mòwònjînbâ.	*Nothing is possible, except through wisdom.*
Wándè kúngə́nà mòwòntíbè nyâ, àwó gàdé bâ.	*Now apart from money for school, there is nothing else.*
Njîà ɍúnəm fìtà gənyâ, kùrwûnnzə́ bâ.	*Unless by pouring a lot of water on it, there is no medicine for it.*
Də́làm kàrá gənyâ dâ dówòl fályè sətîn.	*Unless it is the craving of a witch, it will be satisfied by one piece of meat.*
Álì gənyâ, ndúmá səràgənyí.	*Except for Ali, s/he does not like anyone.*

2.2. The Determiner +də́ in Associative-Subordinated Nonverbal Clauses. In any of the examples presented in 2 and 2.1 above, the determiner +də́ may occur at the end of the clause, immediately preceding the associative postposition, effecting the semantic change reflected in the following examples.

Álì mbéjídə́à, shíà lèfàné.	*Since Ali is there, greet him.*
Nânzə̂n ɓâdə́à, kàkkê góné.	*Since he doesn't have one, take mine.*
Àwó kə̀mbûbè ɓâdə́à, kə̀nâà də̀bdònyên.	*Since/given that there is nothing to eat, we will spend the day hungry.*
Shí rônzə́àdə́à, àlhâmdùlìlláhì.	*Since his is alive, thank God.*
Yêrwàn gə̀nyídə́à, ɓòngînbâ.	*Since it is not in Yerwa, I won't sleep.*
Álì gə̀nyídə́à, shíà lèfàngînbâ.	*Since it is not Ali, I won't greet him.*
Shí gə̀nyídə́à, ndúmá lèfàngînbâ.	*Since it is not him, I won't greet anyone.*

It is clear from the translations of the above examples that the occurrence of the determiner element in such clauses, changes the meaning of the adverbial clause from that of a hypothetical conditional clause, to a factive, given (the fact) that clause. As might be expected, its occurrence there renders the preceding clause nominal, as will be readily apparent with regard to verbal clauses which are examined in detail below.

3. Associative Subordination of the Imperfect Verb Aspect. The associative postposition may occur as the subordinator of clauses in the imperfect and the negative imperfect by simply suffixing it to the finite verb form. Such clauses are conditional and lend themselves either to a present interpretation, or to a generic imperfect interpretation. When preceded by the former/unrealized adverb câ *formerly, had it been the case that,* such adverbial clasues produce counterfactual conditional clauses with a past imperfect interpretation.

The form of this type of subordination is shown in the following paradigms for a class 1 and a class 2 verb, in the affirmative and negative.

	class 1: bù+ *eat*	*class 2:* lè+ *go*
1S	búkìnnà; búkìnbâà	lèngînnà; lèngînbâà
2S	búmìnnà; bûmbâà	lènə́mìnnà; lènə̂mbâà
3S	zə́wìnnà; zə́wìnbâà	lèjînnà; lèjînbâà
1P	búiyènnà; búiyènbâà	lènyênnà; lènyénbâà
2P	búwàà; bûwâà	lènúwìà; lènûwâà
3P	záwìnnà; záwìnbâà	lèzâià; lèzâiwâà

3.1. Using the Associative-Subordinated Imperfect Aspect Clause. Associative subordination of the imperfect verb form, due to the underlying character of this verbal aspect, is at the *most improbable* end of the spectrum of conditional clauses of Kanuri. Because of its very *iffy* nature, it does not lend itself to use in narrative contexts for the purpose of ordering events in time.

Músà rúmìnnà, wàndé shírò gùllə̂mí.	*If you do see Musa, don't tell him.*
Íshìnnà, shírò gùllé.	*If he does come, tell him.*
Hâldə́ shílà shítìbè; sàngə́mìnnà, nàmtîn.	*Character is a rib bone; if you lift it up it will break.*
Ísàiwâà, àbímà bâ.	*If they don't come, it doesn't matter.*
Kàsúwùrò lènə̂mbâà, bə́rìnə́m gə̀nângìnbâ.	*If you will not go to the market, I will not fix your food.*
Bə̀lâà ngádàrbè lánə̀mìnnà, kàfúwùrò láné.	*If you are digging the hole of slander, dig it shallow.*
Àwódə́ dímìnnà, fə́rtə̀də́àmá dé.	*If you are doing something, do it for a reason.*

Bûnzə́ lóng tádà kóróbè sə̀gàshînnà, dámbémá ngə́wù wòrò sə̀gàshîn.	*If a baby donkey runs all alone, it is because of a lot of kicking.*
Rângìnnà, kàsúwùrò lèngîn.	*If I am able, I will go to the market.*
Dálàyè rákcìnnà, íshíà fânnə́mrò nyíà sáadìn.	*If Dala can, when he comes he will take you home.*

The imperfect may occur in counterfactual conditional clauses like the following.

Câ lúwùmìnnà, nyíà yòrdúwùkìn.	*If you were leaving, I would accompany you.*

When the determiner +də́ occurs after the imperfect verb form and before the associative postposition, the associative is in effect foregrounding a sentential NP. Such constructions lend themselves to the *given that* or *since it is the case that* type of translation, as was the case with the same use of the determiner in the nonverbal sentences of section 2. One could refer to these as *clauses of circumstance.*

Íshìnnà, shíà jêngìn.	*If he is coming, I will wait for him.*
Íshìnbâà, shíà jêngìnbâ.	*If he isn't coming, I will not wait for him.*
Íshìndə́à, shíà jêngìn.	*Since he is coming, I will wait for him.*
Íshìnbâdə́à, shíà jêngìnbâ.	*Since he is not coming, I will not wait for him.*
Kànùrìwá létsàisòdə́à, àndíà bànáné sàndíà sàngíyé.	*Since the Kanuris are all sleeping, help us and let's wake them up.*

3.2. The Imperfect Aspect and the Associative in Participle Formation. Identical in form to the above-cited associative subordination of the imperfect verb aspect, is the finite participle form which is made up of the very same elements. This derived participle form always occurs dependently and usually describes an action which is simultaneous with the action of the subsequent main verb of the sentence. The subject of the finite participle form and that of the matrix verb form are often identical. According to the present analysis, this kind of associative postpositional phrase containing a verb form, represents another form of NP modification. The head noun of such a NP is the subject of the finite verb form which has been rendered a participle, whether that subject has been independently expressed or not. As was the case with other forms of associative phrase modification (pages 199-201), here also the associative predicates the existence of the imperfect verbal action in relation to the subject. This action is thus going on simultaneously with the action of the following main verb, which may be completive or imperfect.

Though identical with the subordinated form in shape and pronunciation when taken in isolation, the two differ within the sentence. As observed, the subordinated form is distinguished by a pause immediately following the associative (as subordinator), whereas no pause is involved in the use of the participle form. The subordinate clause is always in sentence initial position, the participle form may be anywhere preceding the main verb. The difference is shown in the following pair of examples.

Sàasâià, wú yé kàsə́kìn.	*If they run away, I too will run away.*
Sàasâià lèyádà.	*They went away running.*

Such 3P imperfect forms which do not terminate in +n, constitute therefore tonal minimal pairs with the verb emphasis completive 3P form of the verb (see 5 below), as shown below.

Sàasáià, wú yé kàsə́kìn.	*When they run away, I too will run away.*

Other examples of the participle form are shown here.

Ísə́kìnnà gógə̀kê kûkkìn.	*I'll bring it with me when I'm coming.*
Tádà kə̀skábè zə́wìnnà nápkònò.	*He sat down while eating a fruit.*
Górò zə̀gə̀rînnà də̂bdòjîn.	*He spends the day chewing kola.*

4. Associative Subordination of the Perfect and Negative Completive Aspects. The associative may occur as the subordinator of finite clauses in the perfect and the negative completive aspects, again, simply by suffixing it to the finite verb form. Such clauses are conditional and lend themselves to a past conditional interpretation. In the environment of those stative verbs which occur normally only in the perfect aspect, the interpretation in other languages may then be a present conditional one. The perfect is the Kanuri aspect preferred for the construction of hypothetical and counterfactual conditional clauses. Such clauses may be produced both with and without the former/unrealized adverb of state câ, whereas when the past or the imperfect are used for such clauses this adverb is always required. The negative completive may also occur in the subordinate clause of hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals. The associative postposition is always required in such constructions.

The form of this type of subordination is shown in the following paradigms for a class 1 and a class 2 verb, in the perfect and the negative completive.

	class 1: bù+ *eat*	*class 2:* lè+ *go*
1S	búkə́nàà; búkə̀nyíà	lèngə́nàà; lèngə̂nyíà
2S	búmmàà; bûmíà	lènə́mmàà; lènə̂míà
3S	zə́wúnàà; zə́wûnyíà	lèzə́nàà; lèzə̂nyíà
1P	búiyénà; búiyèndéà	lènyénàà; lènyêndéà
2P	búwàà: bûwíà	lènúwàà; lènûwíà
3P	záwúnàà; záwùnyíà	lèzánàà; lèzânyíà

The following examples represent the most important uses of associative subordinated clauses in the perfect and the negative completive aspects. As was the case with the imperfect, here also the determiner element may occur between verb form and the associative position to produce the clauses of circumstance *(given that, etc.)* introduced in 3 above.

Sùlúwùnàà, wòtíyà ádə̀ nânzə̂n kòllé.	*If he has gone out, leave this letter for him at his place.*
Sùlúwùnàdə́à, wòtíyà ádə̀ nânzə̂n kòllé.	*Since he has gone out, leave this letter for him at his place.*
Kàlímàdə́ Àràbílàn sàrùtə́nàà, âm Nígèrbè ráksâ fànzâi.	*If the word has been borrowed from Arabic, then the people of Niger will understand it.*
Hàmzə́nàà, búiyèn; hàmzə̂nyíà, búiyènbâ.	*If it has cooled, we will eat; if it hasn't cooled, we won't eat.*
Hàmzə́nàdə́à, búiyə́wó.	*Since it has cooled, let's eat.*
Shíà rúkə̀nyíà, tə́mmân kə̀jî fàngînbâ.	*If I haven't seen him/her, I never feel good.*
Kùwádə́ ísànyíà, wàndé shìwòltə̂mí.	*If they haven't come yet, don't worry about it.*
Shî dìnzə̂nyíà, tə́mà yàngêbè dàjînbâ.	*If/as long as the leg hasn't worn out, the expectation of the pants will not end.*

In the following counterfactual conditional constructions, it should be noted that when the counterfactual clause is introduced by câ *formerly, were it the case that*, this adverb may or may not be matched by the occurrence of the comparable kùwá *by now, by this time*, at the beginning of the following main clause. câ is used again in the latter position by some speakers. It is impossible for the determiner element to occur in such subordinate clauses.

Câ ísə́nàà, (kùwá) kúngə́nàdə́ shírò yíkə́nà.	*If he had come, by now I would have given him the money.*
Câ ísə́nàà, (kùwá) kúngə́nàdə́ nânzə̂n.	*If he had come, the money would be with him by now.*
Câ tàwàzə́nàà, kǎusùrò kàjîn.	*If he had gotten up early, he would avoid the heat.*
Câ ràámmàà, kùwá lènyénà.	*If you had wanted to, we could have gone.*
Câ dàtên ísə́nàà, kùwá ngái àndí Yêrwàn.	*If he had come early, we would be in Yerwa by now.*
Câ wúrò kúngə́nàdə́ cínàà, kùwámí[illegible]ôn kátèndên àmânnà.	*If he had given me the money, I would still trust him.*
Câ wúrò bùrwôn gùllə́mmàà, kárènyí góngè ísə́kìn gə̀nyí wá?	*If you had told me before, wouldn't I have taken my things and come?*
Câ fə̂ áwànyíbèdə́ yé ádə̀gáirò bàrànə́mmàà, kùwá fàndə́mmà.	*If you had also hunted for my father's cow in this way, you would have found it by now.*
Kə̀ndênə́m fànyénàà, àndí yàyé nyírò àwó láá kúdìyènbâ wá?	*If we had heard about your arrival, wouldn't even we have brought you something.*
Câ nyíà yíllə̀mìn fànyêndéà, kû nyíà tàdàwánə́mmà ngâmyè sə̀rwáttìn.	*If we hadn't heard you screaming, today you and your children would have been lost to the cat.*

5. Associative Subordination of the Verb Emphasis Completive Aspect (VEC). Used independently, the VEC aspect entails the sudden or surprising realization of the action of the verb, and emphasizes that achievement. When the VEC aspect is subordinated by the associative postposition, that point at which the action of the subordinated verb has been realized is the given precedent in the subordinate clause, and it may be interpreted as the condition for the following superordinate clause. The relationship between the two clauses is one of order, and is temporal in the sense that the subordinate clause constitutes a prerequisite for the realization of the superordinate clause. The hierarchy of two events established by this type of associative subordination, may be interpreted temporally in the future, or generically, the latter describing what happens *whenever* the condition of the associative subordinated clause is realized. Constructions of this type with the generic interpretation occur very frequently in Kanuri proverbs.

Use of an associative subordinated VEC clause always entails the presupposition on the part of all parties to the utterance that the action of the subordinated verb phrase will be realized, or is normally realized. Clauses of this type are very definite in the sense that the achievement of the action of the subordinate clause is essentially taken as a given. The action of the superordinate clause thus happens *given that/when/whenever* the associative subordinated clause happens/has happened. They do not lend themselves to translation by *if* in English, but rather by *when/whenever*. When the generic interpretation is possible, it is normally the case that it is either a proverb, or that many historical precedents are involved so that there is no doubt that the action of the subordinate clause has been completed.

In the past narrative context, nyí+*associative*subordination of the past aspect (Lukas' dependent past) is used to order events factually as they occurred in the past. There, the subordinate past clause often picks up a verb contained in the immediately preceding utterance, to set the stage for the next event contained in the superordinate clause immediately following it (see 6 below). Similarly, in the future narrative context, associative subordination of the VEC aspect (Lukas' dependent future) is used to order events as they will occur in the future, as presupposed by the speaker and those party to the utterance. Here again the presupposition may be based on a previous utterance, and thus the associative subordinated VEC clause may pick up the same verb from the previous utterance and use it as the precondition for the subsequent superordinate clause. This is the general case, and there will be exceptions where such clauses may lend themselves to an *if* interpretation. It should be noted that in English one uses *if* not only conditionally, but also generically and proverbially.

The form of this type of subordination is shown in the following paradigms for a class 1 and a class 2 verb.

	class 1: bù+ *eat*	*class 2:* lè+ *go*
1S	búkíà	lèngíà
2S	búmíà	lènə́míà
3S	zə́wíà	lèjíà
1P	búiyéià	lènyéià
2P	búwíà	lènúwíà
3P	záwíà	lèzáià

In the first example below, the VEC aspect is preferred over the imperfect in the subordinate clause because the interpretation is generic. The condition of whether or not you go to a small village is not relevant to the utterance, and thus it is truly a *when/whenever* clause.

Bə̀làdéyàrò lènə́míà, ádə̀gái ádə̀ sàdîn yáyérò wáljìn.	*When you go to a small village, it may be that they do things like that.*
Ísə́míà túrúiyèn.	*When you arrive we will see each other.*
Mákkàrò lènə́míà wúrò rádìò kúdé.	*When you go to Mecca bring me a radio.*
Lìitárìdə́rò lèngíà àbí wààjîn?	*What will happen when I go to the hospital?*
Kàsúwùrò lènə́míà, wàndé àwó gùlzə́nàn yíwùmí; mànàtə̀nówó dùwô.	*When you go to the market, don't buy at what they first say; discuss it first.*
Kúdə́míà, shégə́ bâàrò nyí yé wárátà áwànə́mbèà fàndə́mìn.	*When you bring it, without a doubt you too will get your father's inheritance.*
Fúwùn Yěrwàrò lèngíà, táskìrò gààkə̀nyí dùwô ísə́kìnbâ.	*Next time I go to Yerwa, I won't come back without having ridden in a taxi.*
Bə́rì búkíà lèngîn.	*When I have eaten I will go.*
Bàrà dàjíà ngə́rwúwù dâ.	*When the hunt is finished, the owl is meat.*
Bírnyì kàsúdù gójíà, bə̀làdéyà shíà tákùl kə́lzò.	*When the town laughs, the village has tickled it.*
Kâm kádíyè zə̀gə̀ríà jê dînrò ríjìn.	*When a snake bites you you will then fear an old rope.*
Kâm tàwàjíà kǎusùrò kázònò.	*When you get up early you will avoid the heat.*
Dìnâ lə̀mjíà kàfyâ gàpcí.	*When night falls, there is plenty of shade.*
Àmmá tùlúwùkíà wúrò àwó láá shímìn.	*But when I take it out you will give me something.*

Kúttù nyírò wààzə́gíà wúrò wààzə́gí.	*When something bad happens to you it has happened to me.*
Sáa kámtíà nə́ngì kámtí.	*When the visiting stops, the friendship ends.*
Wúà nâ kwâbèn rúmíà wúà dùwàné.	*When you see me at a man's place, slaughter me.*
Àmmá ísəm gàámíà dàjí Màidúgùrìà Yêrwààdə́ gàdègàdérò ásúnəmìn.	*But when you come and enter you will realize that Maiduguri and Yerwa are different.*
Lâidə́ zâurò tàjírwà ngə́wùà; kâm lèjíà tə́mmárò kəléwàn wáltìnbâ.	*The way is very dangerous/ when one goes, one never returns safely.*
Bîa ngàwùrènə́m bəláàdərò tàlàrgə́míà tákè fàrngê lúwùkìn.	*Well when you dangle your tail into the hole, I will grab it and pull myself out.*
Àndí sàwàndíà zàgərìn.	*When they get us they will eat us.*
Shí ádə lèzə̂ Rábìà zə́wù íshíà, àndíà kòljînbâ.	*When he goes and conquers Rabi and comes back, he won't let us alone.*
Kànyînə́m sámmá gə́rəm dàjíà, kənânə́m nûi.	*When you have finished eating your goat, you hunger will be gone.*
Álàyè àmàrjíà, kàwú dùwô Yêrwàrò wáltəmìndə́, wúrò gùlsə́gə́míà ngə́nəptəkè kàwú fál yàyé ísə́kè nândôn díkìn.	*God willing, if before you return to Yerwa you tell me, I will try to come and spend even just one day with you.*
Kâm lárdə̀ Wúfèbèlàn shírò gáliwù gùlzáià, làbúddà nânzə́làn kàlìímò mbéjí.	*When they say of a man from Wufe country that he is rich, there is no doubt that he has a camel.*

5.1. Associative-Subordinated VEC Clauses as Time Adverbs. In the environment of sái *until*, associative subordinated VEC clauses may occur autonomously, without a subsequent superordinate clause. Such constructions occur very productively in leavetaking expressions referring to the passage of time *until when* the two parties to the leavetaking will meet again.

Sái wàjíà.	*Until tomorrow/when the night has passed.*

Today the word wàjíà and the word bálì are used synonymously to mean *tomorrow*. More examples of leavetaking expressions are shown below.

Sái tùsshíà.	*Until later/when some time has passed.*
Sái ísə́míà.	*Until you come back.*
Sái bùnèjíà.	*Until tonight/when night has come.*
Sái túrúiyéià.	*Until when we see each other.*
Sái nzúrúkíà.	*Until when I see you.*

It is in this way (i.e. through associative subordination of VEC clauses), that many very commonly used adverbial expressions of Kanuri are constructed. Any adverbial, adjectival, or nominal lexical item may be changed to low tone and function as a class 2 verb stem, forming a process verb describing the *becoming* of that lexical item. Thus any noun or adverbial noun of time may play this role and occur in the 3S VEC subordinated by the associative, and function as a process adverb of time. Thus for some of the following examples, words like bínə́m *cold season*, bálté *morning*, and others function as the roots of these expressions.

wàjíà	*tomorrow*
bálì kójíà	*day after tomorrow/when tomorrow passes*
ləmjíà	*when it is dark/late tonight*
wàyèjíà	*in a short while*
bìnəmjíà	*when the cold season comes*
bàltèjíà	*at mid-morning*

nə̀ngə̀lìjíà	*when the rainy season comes*
bèjíà	*when the hot season comes*
bùnèjíà	*tonight*
màirùjíà	*at dusk*

5.2. Emphatic +má-marking of Associative Subordinated VEC Clauses. When an associative subordinated VEC clause is immediately followed by the emphatic +má (discussed in detail in ch. 25 as a NP status marker), then the interpretation is best rendered in English by *as soon as* or *right when*. For a completive narrative, +má performs this same function when applied to the nyí+*associative* subordinated form of the past (presented in 6.3 below).

Sə̀wàndíàmá bànnàjîn.	*As soon as he gets it he will ruin it.*
Nâdə́rò lènə́míàmá shíà rúmìn.	*As soon as you get there you will see him*
Wàjíàmá nânzə́rò lèngîn.	*As soon as morning comes/first thing in the morning I will go to his place.*
Súríàmá sə́tài.	*As soon as he sees it he will grab it.*

5.3. Other Uses of Associative-Subordinated VEC Clauses. An associative subordinated VEC clause is often preferred over a nonfinite infinitival clause to express the desire to do something. This is true especially when the verb ràwò *like* occurs as the main verb.

Búkíà ràákə́nà.	*I want to eat.*
Shíà rúkíà ràákí.	*I want to see him/her.*
Sə̀wàndíà sàràgə́nà.	*S/He wants to find/get it.*

The VEC aspect can almost never occur in a hypothetical or counterfactual conditional construction - rarely as the subordinated verb in such a construction, never as the main verb. When the VEC is used independently, it implies that something did happen; when subordinated it implies that something will in fact happen. Neither use lends itself to hypothetical interpretation. These observations are captured in the following examples.

Wùràngí.	*I have (suddenly) grown up./I have (suddenly) gotten big.*
Wùràngə́nà.	*I have grown up./I have gotten big.*
Wùràwókò.	*I grew up.*
Câ lèngə́nàà, kùwá ngái bá wùràngə́nà/*wùràngí.	*If I had gone, by now I would have grown up completely.*

Nor can the VEC occur productively in the subordinate clause of such constructions. The following interpretation of the example shown here is however possible, though quite rare.

Câ sùlúyíà nânə́mrò lèjîn.	*literally = Formerly/It was the case that when he goes out he will go to your place.* *approximate meaning = He was going to go out and go to your place.*

With regard to these latter observations, the VEC aspect is distinct from all other completive aspects of Kanuri. All of the others can occur in hypothetical and counterfactual clauses easily and productively.

In a narrative context, the associative subordinated VEC clause (Lukas' dependent future) is the future counterpart of the nyí+*associative* subordinated past clause (Lukas' dependent past; see 6.4 below). Both of these subordinated clause types involve the use of the associative to present a given situation, which sets the stage for the following main clause. While both have to do with setting a scene in time and with ordering consecutive events where one does not take place until the other has been completed, neither can however be used to fix a point in past or future time.

As would be expected on the basis of the observations made in ch. 23 with regard to the aspects of the verb that are permissible in the complex noun phrase, associative subordinated VEC clauses cannot be marked as nominals and be definitized through the use of the determiner between the verb form and the associative postposition. The same is true for both forms of associative subordination of the past aspect. It is only the imperfect and the perfect, and their negative aspects, which may occur with the determiner in the complex NP (whether it be a major constituent, an associative subordinated adverbial as in 4 and 5 above, or a temporal relative clause relating to a fixed point in time as in chapter 29. (see also pages 227-28)

In ch. 23, temporal relative clauses without a head noun like the following were presented.

Ísə́nàlàdə̂n ...	*When/at the time that he came ...*

This example was shown to be the headless form of the following.

Sâ ísə́nàlàdə̂n ...	*When/at the time that he came ...*

Evidence indicates that associative subordinated VEC clauses are also essentially modifiers of the same deleted head noun sâ *time*, since they too can only be interpreted temporally whether it be in the future or generically. Thus one will hear both forms of the following example, and can classify this syntactically as another instance of an associative postpositional phrase modifying a head noun.

Íshíà ...	*When he comes/has come ...*
Sâ íshíà ...	*When he comes/has come ...*

Since the interpretation of such associative modified noun phrases can never be definite with regard to point in time or fact, then it is not surprising that the determiner element +də́ cannot occur anywhere in such clauses. Other determiners can however occur as is shown in the following forms of these clauses. When the head noun is manifested the determiner may either immediately follow the head noun or the subordinate clause. When the head noun is not manifested, then the determiner element must follow the subordinate clause. The interpretation can only be generic.

Sâ wòsôn íshíà ...	*Every time when he comes ...*
Sâ íshíà wòsôn ...	*Every time when he comes ...*
Íshíà wòsôn ...	*Every time when he comes ...*

The indefinite pronoun of time may also occur as the head noun of such constructions.

sâmbí yàyé	*no matter when/whenever*
Sâmbí yàyé íshíà ...	*Whenever he comes ...*
Sâmbí íshíà yàyé ...	*Whenever he comes ...*

6. Associative Subordination of the Past Aspect of the Verb. The associative postposition functions in two different forms of subordination of the past. In one form the associative is suffixed directly to the past form of the verb, and in the other, the morpheme +nyí plus the associative postposition is suffixed to the past form of the verb. The former occurs mostly in conditional clauses, both present, past, and as

well hypothetical and counterfactual. The latter form of subordination of the past is reserved for the past narrative context (Lukas' dependent past), and constitutes the completive counterpart of the associative subordinated VEC aspect, as mentioned earlier (Lukas' dependent future).

6.1. Simple Associative Subordination of the Past. The form of this type of subordination is shown in the following paradigms for a class 1 and a class 2 verb.

	class 1: bù+ *eat*	*class 2:* lè+ *go*
1S	jíwúkòà	lèwókòà
2S	jíwùmmà	lèyâmmà
3S	zə́wòà	lèwónòà
1P	jíwìyèà	lèyáiyèà
2P	jíwùà	lèyâuà
3P	záwòà	lèyádàà

When the past is subordinated by the associative alone, the subordinate clause does not necessarily refer to a completed action. Just as associative subordination of the perfect aspect may be interpreted as a counterfactual conditional, here the interpretation is often that of a hypothetical conditional clause. Clauses of this type are used when there is doubt as to whether or not the action of the subordinate clause will be or has been carried out, and thus describe what may have happened, or what might happen. The superordinate clause then describes what should be done *if* the subordinate clause is realized. When preceded by the former/unrealized state adverb câ, such clauses may also be used to produce counterfactual conditionals, though the perfect verb aspect is normally preferred for such constructions. For some speakers (and in some contexts) the +nyí+*associative* subordination of the past described in 6.2 below does not exist, and thus this simpler form of past subordination involving the associative alone, may be used in the past narrative context. The following examples are from non-narrative contexts.

Fə̀témbèn kówònòà, ndâ shînzə́?	*If he did go westwards, where are his footprints?*
Dúnònə́mmà kózə́nàrò wálwònòà, báná njíkìn.	*If it were that it went beyond your capability, I would help you.*
Wâdə̀ sáwànə́mbèmá cìrə́mbə̀mmà, ádə̀ nyílàdə̂n mánà bâ màré.	*If you have fulfilled the promise to your friend, then you have no problem.*
Nâ ádə̀làn nápkòkòà, yîm láân wúmáà cèjîn.	*If I were to sit down here, one day he would kill even me.*
Àwó gùlzə́nàmá ádə̀ nyírò gùlwónòà, nûi.	*If he told you this thing that he said, he will die.*
Àndímá də̀gáiyèrò wálwònòà, àbímá nyírò wàázə́gìnbâ.	*If we are here, nothing will happen to you.*
Fə́rtə̀ dìfínò kùrkúrìbèn mbə́ngnə̀m kókkàmmà, tádà gózài; fə́rtə̀ bîbèn mbə́ngnə̀m kókkàmmà, tádà gə̀názàiwâ.	*If you pull out and transplant a root from the female date tree, it will bear fruit; if you pull out and transplant from the male tree, it will not bear fruit.*
Àwónə́m láá díwì mbéjí. Bârò wálwònòà, ádə̀gáirò tə́mmân wáljìnbâ.	*There is something bad about you. If there weren't, it would never be like this.*
Bùrwôrò kádìkòà, nânzə́làn nyíà jêngìn.	*If I should arrive first, I'll wait for you at his place.*
Ngái gə̀nyírò wálwònòmáà, búrə̀kìn.	*If it doesn't work out that way, I will move.*
Sə̀gàsə̂ cùlúwòà, tàdàwá shíà kádúwàdà.	*(narrative) When he ran out, the children followed him.*

Yêrwàlàn kàrgákòmáà, fátò ádə̀làn nâmngìn.	*As long as I live in Yerwa, I will stay in this house.*

6.2. +nyí+*associative* Subordination of the Past. This second form of subordination of the past is morphologically more complex. It involves the apparent suffixation of +nyí+à which becomes +nyâ, to the past form in every person and number except the 1P form to which +ndé+à which becomes +ndèâ is suffixed.

The form of this type of subordination is shown in the following paradigms for a class 1 and a class 2 verb.

	class 1: *eat*	*class 2:* *go*
1S	jíwúkə̀nyâ	lèyákə̀nyâ/lèwókònyâ
2S	jíwùmnyâ	lèyâmnyâ
3S	zə́wə̀nnyâ	lèyânnyâ/lèwónònyâ
1P	jíwìyèndèâ	lèyáiyèndèâ
2P	jíwìnyâ	lèyâunyâ
3P	záwə̀nnyâ	lèyádànnyâ

Before further explaining the form of these subordinated forms, it is important to compare them with the comparable paradigms for the negative completive and the negative future, which are shown here in that order.

1S	búkə̀nyí; jíwúkə̀nyí	lèngə̂nyí; lèjákə̀nyí
2S	bûmí; jíwùmmí	lènə̂mí; lèjâmmí
3S	zə́wùnyí; jíwùnnyí	lèzə̂nyí; lèjânnyí
1P	bûiyèndé; jíwìyèndé	lènyêndé; lèjâuwí
2P	bûwí; jíwùwí	lènûwí; lèjâuwí
3P	záwùnyí; jáwùnnyí	lèzânyí; lèjânnyí

It is likely that the negative morpheme +nyí, which is used to form both the negative completive and the negative future, and its 1P variant +ndé, are the same morphemes used in the formation of this variant of the associative subordinated past, even though the latter is not interpreted negatively. The negative element +nyí also occur in the negative copula of identification gə̀nyí *not be*, and is very likely the same morpheme as that described as a NP status marker (see p. 245). Whether this morpheme is originally and inherently negative cannot be presently determined. The extra n occurring in the 3S and 3P forms of the subordinated past (and of the future) paradigm is the supplementary third person subject morpheme, introduced first on page 11.

The independent uses of the nonaspect verbal (negative copula of identification) gə̀nyí when subordinated by the associative, may provide some explanation for why the same morpheme is performing all of these functions. As introduced in 2.1 of the present chapter, gə̀nyâ/nyâ has taken on many meanings, some of which carry little negative force. It is possible that its meanings like *apart from, other than*, etc. may have been adapted to this subordinating function, taking on a temporal meaning when applied to a past verb. One can only speculate on this.

With this type of subordination, a completive verb aspect is used to describe the hierarchy of and the order in which completed events occurred, always in the past. It asserts the completion of the action of the past verb form in the subordinate clause as a given, a sort of predication setting the scene, as the point from which the subsequent action of the superordinate clause was then carried out. Clauses subordinated in this way are nearly always followed by a superordinate clause which also bears a verb form in the past. Such subordinate clauses are never used conditionally, hypothetically, or counterfactually. They are widely used in storytelling, and can only be used when the action of the subordinated verb phrase is presupposed by the speaker as a given fact in the narrative context.

The subordinated verb is established as the stage or plateau in the narrative context which directly or inderectly led to the realization of the action described in the following main clause. It reiterates the givens of the context, and may dramatically set the scene for the new information which is to follow where the next step in the plot is presented. Such clauses may be considered anaphoric in the narrative context, very often repeating the final past verb form from the immediately preceding main clause, documenting that it was completed, and then adding information. Earlier stated information is thus carried on. It is here contrasted with associative subordination of the VEC aspect, and with the series of verbs in the conjunctive mode.

Jíwúkənyâ, lèwóκò.	*When I had eaten, I went.*
Búkíà lèngîn.	*When I eat/have eaten I will go.*
Búkè lèngîn.	*I will eat and go.*

Lèyákənyâ, shíà fàndəkənyí.	*When I went, I did not find him.*
Lèngíà shíà fàndəkìnbâ.	*When I go I don't/won't find him.*
Lèngê shíɛ̀ fàndəkìnbâ.	*I won't go and find him.*

It is clear that the first example in each set functions in the past narrative context just as the second in each set functions in the future/generic context. In both cases, prominence is given to the subordinated event as the point in the narrative which makes possible the accomplishment of the subsequent superordinate clause. The third example in the first set is questionable for some speakers since this particular sequence of events normally requires some kind of hierarchical prominence as in the examples preceding it in the set. While the use of the conjunctive in the third example in each set does relate the order in which conjoined events occur, it imparts no prominence to any event conjoined in this way. The fact that the construction-final negative imperfect verb form also semantically negates the preceding aspectless conjunctive form lèngê, demonstrates that all the verb phrases in a conjunctive series are simply the equal components of a total event.

"The CONJUNCTIVE (sequential) is used only for actions regarded as merely parts of one comprehensive integral event and not as being individually significant events in themselves. Thus the CONJUNCTIVE (sequential) imparts unity to the actions depicted, and conversely, it enables these actions to be described without giving them unwanted prominence. ... A more exact term for this paradigm (based on its semantic function) might be 'Unificatory', ..."(Jarrett, 1979:18)

For more on the uses of the conjunctive form of the verb see chapter 35. The following examples demonstrate the uses of the subordinated past which is here under consideration in the narrative context.

Búltù mánà ádə fàngânnyâ, zâumárò kàrəgənzə́ kámgàtəgə.	*When the hyena had heard this talk, he was shocked.*
Gàná láá lèyádànnyâ, ngâmyè tádà kùwûibè ìndí sə́tà.	*Once they had gone a little ways, the cat grabbed two of the chicks.*
Búltùyè shíà gózə cî kùlúwùbèrò lèyádà. Lèyádànnyâ, ngáwò kəskábèn gəràtánà dùwô dágəlsò ísà kàsálàrò kówàdà.	*The hyena took him and they went to the edge of the lake. When they got there, they hid themselves while the monkeys came and passed on their way to bathe.*
Kwâyè lèzə̂ sáwànzə́rò gùlwónònnyâ, sáwà yé kàrəgənzə́ kəjîrò wálwònò.	*When the husband had gone and told his friend, the friend too became happy.*

Ngáwò kòrkòrê dàryébèlàn gùdówùm cìzə̂ nâ təmàjínzə́bèrò kádìnnyâ, shî kəmówùnbèà súrò.	*After the final crow of the morning, the rooster got up and when he got to his fiance's place, he saw the elephant's footprints.*

In the narrative context, such clauses are often used to set the stage for a quotation from one of the characters, in much the same way as they are shown in the preceding examples.

Yîm láá ngâm cìzə̂ fátò kùwûibèrò lèwónò. Lèyânnyâ, kùwûirò, " ... " wònò.	*One day the cat got up and went to the chicken's house. When he got there, he said to the chicken, " ... ".*
Lèzə̂ lèfààtànnyâ, kùwûiyè, "Ngâ shé fânnyírò kádìm?" sə̀ cúwórò.	*He went and after they had greeted each other, the chicken asked, "Is everything alright that you are coming to my house like this?"*

6.2.1. Emphatic +má-marking of +nyí+*associative* Subordination of the Past. As described in 5.2 above with regard to VEC clauses, similarly here +má may change the interpretation of one of the clauses under consideration from *when* to *as soon as/right when*. This is shown in the following examples.

Lèyádànnyâmá, kàsúwùlàn kádìo.	*Right after they had gone, he came from the market.*
Fàngânnyâmá, yìltà bàdìwónò.	*Right when he heard it, he started screaming.*

7. Associative Subordination of the Noun Emphasis Completive (NEC). Though associative subordinated NEC aspect clauses do not occur very frequently, they are perfectly acceptable. In its independent use the NEC is used when a major NP constituent (subject or object) is focussed. Similarly when subordianated by the associative, it is always the case that either a subject or object NP is either contrastively focussed by +má, or negated by gənyí. Such a constituent can not be questioned by wá when the NEC clause in which it occurs is subordinated by the associative. Semantically, such clauses, like those in the past, may be interpreted either as hypothetical or counterfactual conditionals.

The form of this type of subordination is shown in the following paradigms for a class 1 verb and a class 2 verb.

	class 1: bù+ *eat*	*class 2:* lè+ *go*
1S	búkòà	lèngôà
2S	bûmmà	lènə̂mmà
3S	zə́wòà	lèzôà
1P	búiyèà	lènyêà
2P	bûwwà	lènûwwà
3P	záwòà	lèzâà

In the first example of the following set, the conditional clause in the NEC aspect, occurs after the superordinate clause, as an appositive afterthought.

Yêrwàrò lètə́nyí wánéè, wándè mərádə láá gənyí cìzôà.	*As for my trip to Yerwa, maybe, that is if its not for some business that has come up.*
Shímá dézòà, kəjìjînbâ.	*If HE cooked it, it won't be good.*
Shí gənyí dézòà, kəjìjînbâ.	*If HE didn't cook it, it won't be good.*
(Câ) Álà gənyí wúà zàksôà, kùwá wúà lòrùsánà.	*If GOD hadn't protected me, by now they would have harmed me.*
Álìmá ísòà, shírò kúngənàdə́ yé.	*If ALI comes, give the money to him.*
Kùrú hál ádə câ kâm gàdé dùwô sədôà, làbúddàrò shíà fúwù shàrâ àjábèn sáadə gənájìn.	*Moreover, if SOMEONE ELSE though had done something like this, there is no doubt that he would be taken before the D.H. for judgement.*

CHAPTER 32: THE FUNCTIONS OF THE ADVERBIAL ADJUNCT dùwô

1. Introduction. The adverbial adjunct dùwô, and its alternative forms dùwônyí and dùwônó, are postposed elements, in keeping with the general typology of the language. Evidence from totally unrelated languages would however indicate that this adjunct may have been originally borrowed into the Kanuri language (see Hutchison, 1976a). This adjunct is used to set off nominal and adverbial constituents, subordinate clauses, and even whole sentences, and its meaning in translation is always a reflex of the syntactic environment in which it occurs. It takes on a wide range of meanings in translation into English, no one of which can be said to capture its basic character. Its use is dependent on the discourse or utterance context. A speaker uses dùwô to emphasize, single out, contrast, mark concessively, etc. In the discourse context, it may be used to mark adverbial conjuncts, emphasizing their givenness, essentially dislocating them so as to set the scene for the following new information. Also in the discourse context, the final verb form from a preceding sentence may be recapitulated and marked by this adjunct at the beginning of the next sentence, so as to again set the scene for the new information. From this clause-final position dùwô occurs as the subordinator of a wide range of verbal clauses, both affirmative and negative, with its meaning being predictable as a function of the verb aspect of the preceding clause. Both subordinated adverbial clauses as well as verb phrases in the conjunctive which are not inherently prominent semantically may be marked as precedents or antecedents to a following consequent clause through the use of this adjunct. As a subordinator it may also indicate a temporal relation between clauses, and elsewhere a concessive relation.

The adjunct dùwô has been somewhat problematical for those describing Kanuri grammar. Lukas presented explanatory references to dùwô in six different sections of his book, i.e. under the Adverb, the Postposition, Simple Conjunctions, Relative Clauses, and as well in the Temporal Clause section and the Concessive Clause section (Lukas, 1937). This reflects the great variety of ways in which dùwô may be rendered in other languages. In his Adverb section, he defined dùwô: *first; then; only; in spite of* (Lukas, 1937:130). He then elaborated it as follows:

> 244. dugô *first*, ... is used very frequently in Kanuri. It connects sentences and clauses with one another. Whilst originally it belongs to the main sentence (... *first, (then)* ...), it is drawn as a conjunction into the dependent clause. (Lukas, 1937:132).

Under postpositions, he translated dugô as *after* (Lukas, 1937:142). Under Simple Conjunctions he referred to it as meaning *but* (Lukas, 1937:144). Under Relative Clauses he stated that "relative clauses may also be introduced by dugô (Lukas, 1937:157-8). Under Temporal Clauses, he stated:

> 310. dugô (lit. meaning *first*, see 244) at the end of a clause is often used to show that it is subordinate to the main sentence, corresponding to English *when, as, whilst, as long as* ... with the Negative Past it means *before*; ...
> 311. dugô at the beginning of the clause corresponds to *until*. ... Note I. If dugô stands at the beginning of a clause, the preceding verb is in the Conjunctive, thus showing by the coordination the original meaning of dugô (*first (then)* ...) (Lukas, 1937:162-3).

Under Concessive Clauses he observed that "dugô is also employed in the sense of *although*." (Lukas, 1937:165)

All of Lukas' observations are relevant, especially to the student of spoken Kanuri, in order to understand this very versatile adjunct. Some of the confusion surrounding dùwô is clearly a result of the fact that it is syntactically an adverbial adjunct which very often translates into other languages as a subordinating conjunction (see Ellison, 1937:98).

2. dùwô Setting off the Ant NP of a Complex NP Construction. In conversation, dùwô and its alternative forms are used frequently together with a following pause to set off the ant NP of a restrictive relative clause construction, or other NP construction. In relative clause constructions, this usually occurs when the ant NP is a generic noun like àwó *thing*, and the speaker uses this to somewhat dramatically set the scene for the information which is to follow. This use of dùwô represents a form of NP dislocation, and it very often occurs at or near construction-initial position. In this light, dùwô might qualify as one of the NP status markers treated in chapter 25. In the following examples, this use of dùwô is translated into English using either the concessive *though* or *then*.

Wúyè àwó dùwônyí, Álàyè àlàksənàlàn kâmrò ngálwó wò bâ.	*In my opinion of all the things though/ then that God created, there is nothing better than man.*
Dàjí sâ dùwô, âm ányì ísánàlàdən ndúmárò mànàzânyí.	*And then at the time though/then that these people came, they didn't talk to anyone.*
Àmmá dàlîl dùwô, ádə dímmà wúrò gùllé.	*But tell me the reason though/then that you did this.*
Ádəmá dàlîl dùwô, bəlàndérò íshìnbâdə.	*It is that that is the reason though/ then that he does not come to our town.*
Kùrú àwó dùwô nyírò gùlngîndə, ...	*What is more, the thing though that I am telling you , ...*
Dèlîl dùwô, kàsúdù gónəmmà ádə wúrò gùllé.	*Tell me the reason though/then that you laughed.*

In the following example this adjunct is used to set off the indefinite pronoun head of a NP.

Àbí dùwô, mərádənzáà mázài yàyé, ..	*Whatever/No matter what it is though that they are looking for, ...*

3. dùwô Marking a Conjunct in a Narrative. Adverbial conjuncts, of the type analyzed in chapter 28, which are used to connect a previous utterance with new information in a following sentence, may be marked with dùwô so as to more dramatically set the scene for that new information. These occur very often in the telling of stories, and in other narrative contexts.

Dàjí ngãimá dùwô ...	*So it was that way until ...*
Ngãi kàsàrwû dùwô ...	*They lived like that though until ...*
Ádəgãi dùwô mãgə sətí.	*It was that way though until a week passed.*
Ádəgãi dùwô dìnâ wàwónò.	*It went on like that though until dawn.*

It is clear that using dùwô provides the speaker with a nice way to, as it were, 'hang' on a word, making sure that his audience is with him and preparing them for what is to follow.

4. dùwô Marking a State and Setting a Scene. Here again, as in many of its uses, dùwô is being used to set the scene for the new, interesting, or in this case contrastive or somewhat surprising information that is to follow.

In this function, dùwô is again being used in a role very similar to that of a NP status marker.

Shí Yērwàn dùwô yânzə́ Bámàn bàwòwónò.	*He was in Yerwa though when his mother died in Bama.*
Kàwú yàkkə́ dùwô wáltəkìn.	*(After) three days though and then I will return.*
Tádà ádə àngàllà dùwô hâl díwìà.	*Though this boy is intelligent he has a bad character.*
Nâ ádən dùwô njînzá kənzâbè tápsài.	*It is in this place though that they get their drinking water.*
Àbímá múskònəmmìn ɓâà dùwô bə́lànəmrò lènəmíà ngəlà gənyí.	*If you have nothing at all in your hands though and you go to your village it is not good.*
Wú mbéjí dùwô ísə́ kúlássə́.	*Let him come and search through in my presence. (let me be there first ...)*
Làmîn dùwô, shídə́ ísə̂nyírò wálwònòà dàjí shíà yèjíyèn.	*But Lamin, if it is the case that he doesn't come we will kill him.*
Shí gálíwù dùwô bàwòzə̂ sàndíà kòlwónò.	*He was rich though and died and left them.*

5. dùwô Marking a Statement as an Objection or Contradiction. In the following examples I have translated this use of dùwô with the English *but*.

Shíà kòllówó dùwô!	*But leave him alone!*
Dàné dùwô!	*But wait (first)!*
Kâm ádə̀ nòngə̂nyí dùwô!	*But I don't even know this man!*
Cídànzə́ tàmòzə̂nyí dùwô!	*But he hasn't even finished his work!*
Shídə́ sàmbúnà dùwô sámmá fèròwá sàmbô.	*That one has given birth but she has given birth to all girls.*

6. dùwô Marking Adverbials and Adverbial Clauses Subordinated by the Associative Postposition. Adverbials and adverbial clauses with a VEC finite verb form which are subordinated by the associative postposition, take on the role of prerequisites or conditions when marked by the adverbial adjunct dùwô. Such constructions are perhaps best rendered in English by *only when, not until,* etc., as is shown in the following examples. This meaning is clearly dependent on the presence of the preposition sái *until*, in most cases.

Sái yîm ádə̀à dùwô ...	*It was not until that day though ...*
Mátòlə́ rúkíà dùwônyí yíwúkìn.	*I will buy the car only when/after/not until I have seen it.*
Yàngê zájíà dùwônyí lèjîn.	*Only when he has put on his pants will he go.*
Sái hàmjíà dùwô búiyèn.	*Only when it has cooled off will we eat.*
Ísə́míà dùwô bə́rì búiyèn.	*We will eat only when you have come back.*
Sái ísə́míà dùwô.	*Until/only when you have come back.*

7. dùwô as a Subordinator of Concessive Clauses. As has been observed, the adjunct dùwô is used in a great variety of contexts to mark sentence material in some way as a given, or as an antecedent prerequisite to following new information with which it may be contrasted. In some cases this contrast may be interpreted concessively, as is shown in the following examples, presented here with concessive interpretations.

As should be apparent, the use of dùwô is very often conditioned by the context. In each of the following examples the subordinate clause is in some way set up in contrast to the following main clause, and is often in some way contradicted by it. The translations that are indicated cannot possibly be said to represent all of the innuendos that might relate to the context for each utterance. There are other possible interpretations. Similarly, there are examples from preceding sections of this chapter which may also have a possible concessive interpretation, which might as well be included here.

Shí kúngə́nànzə́ ngə́wù bâ dùwô tàláàsòrò cîn.	*Though he does not have much money he gives to the poor anyway.*
Shîmnə́m fálrò nòngə́nà dùwô nyíà nyìyàwókò.	*Though I knew that you only have one eye I married you anyway./or I married you even though I already knew you only had one eye.*
Àwó díkə́nà bâ dùwô cìmbàrə́kò.	*Though I have not done anything I am tired.*
Tə̀màngə̂nyí dùwô bówówàm.	*Though I didn't expect it you called.*
Ndá? Cídà ádə̀ sə̀də̂nyí dùwônyí shíà kòlngê lèzə́?	*What? Though he hasn't even done the work I should let him go?*
Cídànzə́ kàdá dùwô kòlzə̂ kàkkê sə̀dô.	*Though he had a lot of work to do he dropped it and did mine.*
Kərìdə́ bûn nòzə́nà dùwô àwónzə́ férnə̀m búnàbè báwò.	*Though the dog knows perfectly well how to lie down it has nothing to spread out and lie on.*
Jêrò kàjîn tə̀màzə́nà dùwô shíà càyérò.	*Though he thought he would escape the rope they tied him up./or He thought he would escape the rope but they tied him up anyway.*
Îsə̀nyí dùwô bə́rì déwònò.	*Though he hadn't come (yet) she cooked the food./or She cooked the food before he came.*
Nòzə́nà dùwô cìdô.	*Though he knew he did it anyway./or He did it deliberately./or He did it even though he already knew.*

8. dùwô After a Conjunctive Verb Form. It is observed in chapter 35 that the use of the conjunctive form of the verb is a way of unifying the subparts of a total event, indicating their equality within the total event and thus giving no semantic prominence to any of the conjoined verb phrases. The use of the adjunct dùwô after one of the conjoined verb phrases functions to break up that semantic unity, giving semantic prominence to the conjunctive verb phrase which is followed by dùwô. As with other of the already observed uses of dùwô, a verb phrase marked in this way is established as an antecedent prerequisite or condition, both temporally and logically, to actions described in the following verb phrase.

Lèngê dùwô ísə̀kìn.	*I will go first/and then/before I will come back.*
Cídàn ísə̀ dùwô kámúnzə́ bə́rì déjìn.	*After he comes from work then his wife cooks the meal.*
Cídàn ísə̀ dùwô kámúnzə́ bə́rì déwònò.	*After he came from work then his wife cooked the meal.*
Kìtáwù ádə̀ kə̀ràzə̂ dùwô nyírò sàrùnzə́gə́kìn.	*He will read this book first and then I will lend it to you.*
Ndú fànzə̂ dùwô wú fàngîn.	*Who is it that will hear (about it) before me. (lit.: Who will hear and then I will hear?)*

A similar relation between two clauses or verb phrases is established in the following examples in which the adjunct dùwô follows an imperative verb form.

Yâi dùwô lèné!	*Drink first/and then go!/Drink before you go!*
Dândérò cískə́gə́né dùwô lèngê kánnú rúkìn túdù gôngè kûkkìn.	*Take care of our meat (first) and then/while I go and take and bring back that fire that I see.*

9. dùwô After Recapitulative Clauses in a Narrative. This use of the adjunct dùwô is again very similar to and closely related to the uses already described. Most of the examples assembled here are from Kanuri folktales. The clauses marked by dùwô are recapitulative in the sense that they begin with the a form of the verb which ended the preceding clause, or with some material or thought from that preceding clause, as shown here.

Kə̀nyérì-à búltù-à sàwàrtâ lèzâ kəráàn nápkàdà. Nápsánà dùwô yîm láá búltù lèzə̂ dábbà láá cèzə̂ gózə̀ nâ kə̀nyérìbèrò cúwúdò.	*The squirrel and the hyena got together and went and settled in the wilds. They were settled there when one day the hyena went and killed a wild animal and took it and brought it back to the squirrel's place.*
Búltù kúttùnzə́ cî ìndíà kàráàrò kàrgàwô. Lèjîn dùwô gùrzàmwá ìndíà kə̀lâ fóksài.	*The hyena with his twofold sorrow went off into the wilds. While he was going he ran into two huge people.*

The clauses marked by dùwô in the above texts are clearly recapitulative, and function very much like adverbial conjuncts linking sentences. Thus their function is the same as the dùwô-marked adverbial conjuncts for which several examples were presented in section 3 above. There some anaphoric pro-form elliptically represented an entire recapitulated clause, of the type here under consideration. Here again dùwô is being used to set the scene for the next step in the narrative, and it therefore may signal some kind of a temporal relationship between two sentences. The relationship is one of relative time, or order in time. In all of the following examples the recapitulated clause is in the imperfect aspect of the verb, and frequently includes anaphoric adverbial conjuncts.

Dàjí ádə̀gâi tùssâi dùwô kə̀nə̂myè sàndíà gówònò.	*Thus they were chatting/spending time together like that when they were overtaken by sleep.*
Dàjí nápsánà tùssâi ádə̀gâi dùwô hâr bə́là sámmásó bòwádà.	*So they were sitting there talking like that until the whole town had gone to bed.*
Mánə̀mìn dùwô máfìàrò cùdùrô.	*You kept looking for it when it suddenly fell like hail.*
Kə̀lânzá wájí; ndàlzâi dùwô sàndíà cátà.	*Poor them; they were stealing and got caught.*
Kə̀ràngîn dùwô kòlwókò.	*I was studying though and then I quit.*
Də́rízài də́rízài ádə̀gâi dùwô gàngá shírò zázáài.	*They keep on circling around like that and then they beat the drum for him.*
létcìn dùwô kə̀mówùn ísə̀ kàrgàwô.	*He was sleeping when the elephant came and entered.*
Tùssâi dùwô dùnyâ lə̀mbónò.	*They kept on talking until late into the night.*
Lèzâi dùwô sàndíà kə̀ryégə̀yè súrí.	*They were walking along when they were spotted by the ostrich.*
Lèzâi lèzâi dùwô búltùdə́ shíà kə̀nâyè sə́tà.	*They went on and on until the hyena was overcome by hunger.*

Sàdîn sàdîn dùwô ndúsó shînzə́ kə́líwònò.	*They kept on doing it and then everyone crossed their legs.*
Mànàjîn dùwô kə̀múrsò láá cúwúrò, "Ndúmá kúlònyí zə́wìn rûmí?" wònò, kə̀múrsòdə́rò.	*He talked on and then asked a certain old woman, "Didn't you see anyone eating my farm?" he said to the old woman.*
Kə̀mówùn-à tə̀màjínzə́-à tùssâi dùwô dùnyâ fàjàrzə̂ cìzə̂ fânnzə́rò wálgàtə̀.	*The elephant and his fiancee kept on talking until dawn approached and he got up and went home.*
Kə̀mówùn-à yàlwánzə́-à ísài dùwô ísà cî bə́làbè kàrə̀ngádànnyâ, kùrwúlìyè sàndíà rówònò.	*The elephant and his family were coming along until (when) they came near to the edge of the town, the lion grabbed them.*
Âm gùdówùmbè kə̀rígə̀làn nàsàrtánà wáltài dùwô sàndíà ngúdùyè sə́tà.	*The rooster's people who had been victorious in the war were returning when they were overcome by thirst.*
Kózài dùwô sə́màná sàdîn fàngónò.	*(It was) while they were passing that he heard (that) they were talking.*
Ádə̀gãi yéjìn dùwô mâi láá kójìndə́ kâm láárò, "Ndâ àwó súró ádə̀bè gàyé tùlé yé." wònò.	*He sung on like that when/and then some king that was passing said to someone, "Please go in and take out what is inside of this."*

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CHAPTER 33: THE COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS AND PHRASAL COORDINATION

1. Introduction. It is the purpose of this chapter to examine the various ways in which syntactic elements are conjoined. It centers on the use of the coordinating conjunctions in the language, all of which are postposed elements as would be predicted by the typology of the language. The only coordinating conjunctions that are preposed in Kanuri are those that have been borrowed into the language, such as àmmá *but* from Arabic.

There are basically three different types of conjunction in Kanuri, two of which are dealt with in the present chapter. First is the coordinate conjunction of a series of two or more syntactic elements of the same category through the application of postposed elements to each of the conjoined elements. In this form of coordination the associative postposition is the most important conjunction. The second type is that involving the occurrence of a coordinating conjunction like àmmá *but*, between syntactic elements. The third major coordination type is that which is treated in chapter 35, involving the morphology of the verb in coordination through the use of the conjunctive verb form.

2. Coordinate Conjunction of a Series of Elements. The postposed elements that may be used to conjoin a series of elements are the following:

associative postposition	... +(C+)à	... +(C+)à
collective plural marker	... +sò	... +sò
nonspecific indefinite determiner	... +só	
locative/means/instrument postposition	... +ǹ	... +ǹ
additive adjunct	... +yé	... +yé

It is important that the student of Kanuri remember that unlike in a language like English where a conjunction like *and* is placed only once between the two conjoined elements, in Kanuri there must be two occurrences of the postposed conjunction. It should be remembered also that it is the postpositions of Kanuri which function as subordinating conjunctions or subordinators in the language. These are treated in chapters 27 through 32.

2.1. The Associative Postposition as a Coordinating Conjunction. The associative postposition is most commonly used to conjoin a series of NPs. When a series of only two NPs is conjoined in this way, the nonspecific indefinite determiner +só may be applied to the final occurrence of the associative postposition to yield the implication *both*. Similarly the indefinites sámmá and sámmásó *all*, may be applied in the same position to make the conjoined series all-inclusive. Such structures are apparent in the following examples.

Shí-à Álì-à sámùn.	*S/He and Ali are similar/alike.*
Shí-à Álì-à gàdègàdé.	*S/He and Ali are different.*
Wúrò ngə́làrò âmnə́m-à sáwànə́m-à sámmá lèfàné.	*Greet all of your people and friends for me.*
Kàsò-à də̀mbə́r gàmbò-àdə́, díwàl fál zàgáyìnbâ.	*Running and scratching the buttocks, they don't follow the same path.*
Kə̀nyérì-à kə̀mówùn-à kə̀ngə́sə̀-à kóró-à àrgə̂m kúlòlàn ndàltə́rò lèyádà.	*The squirrel and the elephant and the flea and the donkey went to steal millet in the field.*
Búltù ngáwò wùlgátàà-à kőró-à kə̀lâ főksái.	*The hyena with his skinned back and the donkey met.*
Ádə̀má wâdə̀ wú-à shí-à gótíyénà wò.	*It is that that is the promise that s/he and I took to each other.*
Ádə̀ nànkàrò wái wàjísó súwà-à kàjírí-àsōn Álàrò àskə̀rjîn.	*Because of that he thanks God every day, morning and evening.*

Dâ-à jánà-àsó múskònə́mmìn.	*Both meat and knife are in your hand.*
Kə̀lâ kə̀skábè-à bə́là kàráàbè-à bùrwôn kə̀jî yàyé, dàryèjíà kùttùjîn.	*The top of a tree and a village in the bush though both nice at first, become unpleasant later.*
Báyèn-à kàshímò-à kə̀lâ kúngə́nà Nìjéríyàbè bə̀lîn kòmkòmí mèwùábèn njîn.	*He will give you an explanation and a guide to the new Nigerian decimal-based money system.*

In the following example two head nouns of NPs share the same modifiers. As shown, in such cases the modifier may be either repeated after each head noun, or there may be only one occurrence of the modifier after the conjoined series of nouns.

Tàdàwá bə́làbè-à fèròwá bə́làbè-à sámmásó sàwàwánzə́.	*All the boys of the town and the girls of the town were his friends.*
Tàdàwá-à fèròwá-à bə́làbè sámmásó sàwàwánzə́.	*All the boys and girls of the town were his friends.*

In the following examples, identical head nouns have different modifiers and thus the common head noun may or may not be repeated in each member of the conjoined series as shown.

Kə̀mândé Áláyè kùrkùrìwá kàráàbè-à (kùrkùrìwá) bə́làbè-à gàdègàdérò yàksə́nà.	*God our master divided up the animals of the bush and (the animals) of the town differently. (=domestic vs. wild animals)*
Jíwìnzə́ súrôn mbâllà-à (súrôn) káshínzə́à-à (súrôn) kólònzə́ táfàbèà-à gózə̀ díwàl Mákkàbè kádúwònò.	*He took his bag with beer and his provisions and his tobacco pipe in it and started off on the road to Mecca.*
Nâ njî fítə́nà-à (nâ) kə̀ndágə̀ fítə́nà-à gàdègàdé.	*The spot/place where water spilled and (the spot/place) where oil spilled are different.*
Tə́làmdə́ táidà; kàjîm ràámmà-à (kàjîm) wánə́mmà-àsóà kámjìn.	*The tongue is (like) a sickle; it cuts both the grass you want and (the grass) you don't want.*

In the following example, the associative-conjoined nouns all modify the same single occurrence of the head noun. However if separate occurrences of the same head noun are to be implied, then the series would be conjoined as shown in the second form of the following example.

hàwâr búltù-à kə̀nyérì-à dágə̀l-àbè	*the story of the hyena, the squirrel and the monkey*
hàwâr búltùbè-à kə̀nyérìbè-à dágə̀lbè-à	*the story of the hyena and (the story) of the squirrel and (the story) of the monkey*

The associative postposition is also less frequently used to conjoin entire sentences. In the following examples it is marking both conjoined members within an alternative concessive construction.

Dímmà-à dîmí-àsôn sámmá tìló/kál.	*Whether you did it or you didn't do it it is all the same.*
Tádànyí lèjîn-à lèjînbâ-àsôn, férònyí lèjîn.	*Whether my son goes or not, my daughter is going.*
Wázə́nà-à sə̀ràgə́nà-à ìndísôn, ...	*Whether he dislikes it or likes it, ...*

In the following example the associative conjoins two sentences, almost as if they were NPs.

Njíkò-à njèjíkò-à wáltà tə́mmân kàrə́gə̀làn sòlúyìnbâ.	*'I gave it to you' (giving) and 'I killed you' (killing) keep coming back and never leave the heart.*

The uses of the associative presented here are introduced and discussed with many other uses of the associative on pages 199 through 201, and as well in chapter 31.

2.2.The Collective Plural Marker +sò as a Coordinating Conjunction. Nouns and NPs that are marked by the collective plural marker +sò can be conjoined in a series of any number of constituents, without the addition of any other postposed conjunction. This may be due to its collective interpretation as a determiner element, as described on page 208.

Bə́jìsò kə́mòsò kàsúwùlàn rúkə́nà.	*I saw mats and calabashes in the market.*
Bə́jìsò àwòwá gàpsə́nàsò/gàpsə́nànzásò cásáwìn.	*They buy mats and other remaining things.*
Âm Yêrwàbèsò Njàménàbèsò Kánə̀mbèn kûntèn hár Màgàríròò yádé Wàdâibèsò, Dàrfûrbèsò, kùrúmá Kòrdòfânbèsò, sámmá ísàì.	*They all come, people from Yerwa and Njamena, up to and including Kanem, and even going all the way to Magari, from Wadai, from Darfur, and even from Kordofan (they all come).*
Kùrúmá lámbò yé ngə́làrò shílàn líjìnbáwò, sókkù tádà gə̀nàtàsò, kàmbîl gòtàsò, âu kə̀lâ fìttàsò.	*And what is more, even leaves do not grow well on it, let alone for it to bear fruit, blossom flowers, of bud.*
Kə̀mbû âm nâdə́bèdə́ búnyìsò, dâ kàráàbè lárdə̀dân dàwúnàsòdə́má kə̀mbûnzá wò.	*The food of the people of that place, it is the fish and the meat of wild animals that live in the area that is their food.*
Nâiràsò kówòsòlàn fàidàtíyèn; fâmsò súlèsòlàn fàidàtíyènbâ.	*We make use of the naira and the kobo; we do not use the pound and the shilling.*
Shí bə́rmə́tə̀də́ kə̀ndə̀gàrámnzə́ njîm dìnà lááśò, hàngê gárùbè lááśò, kàtèkàté bə́jì ìndíbè láasò.	*This the bermete bug, its abode is in places like an old hut, or some crack in a wall, or between two mats.*

2.3. The Locative/Means/Instrument Postposition as a Coordinating Conjunction. The short form of the locative/means/instrument position (i.e. +ǹ) is not productively used as a coordinating conjunction. In other dialects of Kanuri and Kanembu, especially in most of the Kanembu dialects, it is used instead of the associative postposition as the major coordinating conjunction of NPs. In Yerwa Kanuri it is the only coordinating conjunction used in the number system, as shown in the following examples, and on pages 202-3.

mèwûn tìlôn	*11*
mèwûn ìndîn	*12*
fíndìn yàkkə̂n	*23*

Some speakers also use it in place of the associative postposition, though this is rarely heard in the Yerwa dialect. Here is one example.

Fòtó wûn Álìnbè zùwàngîn.	*I will send a picture of Ali and I.*

Elsewhere it seems to occur in certain older pat expressions, suggesting that it may have been the original coordinating conjunction of the language. Here is one such example.

kàân yèiyân	*precursors, those who went before*

2.4. The Additive Adjunct yé as a Coordinating Conjunction. The additive adjunct is used after each member of a series of conjoined elements in a variety of contexts as is shown in the following examples.

Sáwànyí yé ámànnyí yé Tìjánìrò sàlâm.	*Greetings to my friend and confidant Tijani.*
Ngáwò sàlâmbèn, nyí yé kə̀léwàà wú yé kə̀léwà.	*After greetings, if you (too) are well, I too am well.*
Shí Mâi Álìdə́, kámúnzə́ yé yàskə́, tádànzə́ yé yàskə́.	*This King Ali, his wives were three and his children too were three.*
Kádí yé kârò rízə́nà, kâ yé kádírò rízə́nà.	*Both the snake is afraid of the stick and the stick is afraid of the snake.*
Kə́rì kálé gôjí, nânzə́bè yên bâ, nâ kə̀mânzə́bè yên bâ.	*The dog has stolen the hoe blade, it is neither in his (the dog's) nor in his owner's place.*
Lámàr ádə̀ zâurò zâu yé kùrwówù yé.	*This affair is (both) very difficult and very heavy/important.*
Shí lámbòà yé tádàà yé.	*It has (both) leaves and also fruit.*
Shî yé cídîn, kàlíì yé cídîn.	*The foot is on the ground and the thorn is on the ground also.*
Kásúwá ádə̀ zâurò díwì, kâmmà lâgə̀ yé dúnò bâà yérò sə̀dîn.	*This illness is very bad, it makes a person lazy and weak.*
Shí kùrú zâurò kâm bə́làànà yé nə́ngàà yé tàmòwádà lîntá.	*He furthermore was a very knowledgable and clever person.*
Nâ málàmnyíbè yên cìngí, kə́rànyí yé njèsə̀ngí.	*I get up from my teacher's place, and I also forget my studies.*

In the following examples, this adjunct is used to mark alternative NPs each followed by the same verb form.

Gàrájì yérò nòngə̂nyí, kàsúwù yérò nòngə̂nyí.	*I don't know whether it is the motor park or the market.*
Kùrú bí yérò nòngə̂nyí, kùrkúrì yérò nòngə̂nyí.	*I don't know whether it is a male or a female.*

In the following examples the additive adjunct is used to conjoin sentential verb phrases. It is this form of verb phrase conjunction which is used when there is to be no implication as to the order in which the conjoined events took place. The conjunctive form of the verb is preferred when the events took place in a certain order, as described in chapter 35.

Kánòn də̀gánà yé cìdàzə́nà yé.	*He lived and worked in Kano.*
Tə̀màzə́nà shí málàm yé sàlìjîn yé zə̀mjîn yédə́rò zánnàrò gàyîn sə̀.	*He thinks that because he is a malam and he prays and he fasts that he will enter heaven.*
Súró kàráàbèn lèjîn yé dìnâ mèmèjîn yé dùwô fə́rtə̀ kâu lááběrò kádìo.	*While he was going through the bush and observing nature he came to the base of some stone.*
Sàndí ìndísò kàwú fállàn kásúwá kə́rmùbè sə́tà yé kàwú fállàn Álàbènzá càrə̀mbô yé.	*Both of them were stricken by a fatal illness on the same day, and died on the same day.*
Sàndí ányì sànàtîn yé bàrézài yé kùrúmá jùwàzâi yé.	*These ones (people) sow and farm and also harrow.*

3. Other Coordinating Conjunctions.

3.1. The Use of the Conjunction àmmá *but*. As already mentioned, àmmá is a preposed conjunction in Kanuri and has been borrowed into the language from Arabic. It may be used as a disjunct to start a sentence, or as a conjunction between sentences to conjoin them. Some speakers may even postpose it. In general however, it is not as frequently used as are other forms of conjunction, etc. in the language which fit in more consistently with the canonical typology of the language.

Some of its uses are shown in the following example set:

Shí kâm ngə́là àmmá.	*But he is a good person.*
Wâdə̀nzádə́ rózánà, àmmá fúwùn dùwō lòrùsàtâi.	*They kept that their promise, but only in the future will they marry.*
Àmmá yàyé, shíà wángə́nà.	*But nevertheless, I dislike him.*
Àmmá wúà lèngînbâ.	*But me I am not going.*

3.2. Coordinating Conjunctions of Alternative and Choice. Several different elements are used as coordinating conjunctions of alternative and choice in Kanuri. They may occur either in a single occurrence between the two conjoined choices or alternatives, or they my occur before each of the conjoined elements. They are for the mostpart borrowed into Kanuri from Arabic as evidenced by the fact that they are preposed rather than postposed. Some of the morphemes that are used in this way are: âu, lá, rá, âu bíà, bíà, álà, etc. as shown in the following examples.

Âu (bíà) Álì âu (bíà) Músàmá mângìn.	*I am looking for either Musa or Ali.*
Yíwùkìn lá yíwùkìnbârò shíà shàwàrókò.	*I consulted him over whether I should buy it or not.*
Âu kúrà âu gànámárò nòngə̂nyí.	*I don't know whether it is big or little.*
Álàmá bálì lèngîn (álà) kû lèngîn nòngə̂nyí.	*I don't know whether I will go today or tomorrow.*
Álà cìmê álà lìwùlá nòngə̂nyí.	*I don't know whether it is red or blue.*
Lènə́mìn lá/rá/âu lènə̂mbâ?	*Are you going or not?*

3.3. Coordination without Overt Coordinating Conjunctions. Coordination of clauses may be indicated through the mere juxtaposition of clauses as is apparent in the following examples.

Múskò kánnú gójìn, shîm kárè sápcìn.	*The hand takes the fire (and/while) the eyes take in/gather the things/belongings. (refers to curious investigation of another's home when under pretext of only borrowing coals to start a fire)*
Njî sásài dóyà záwìn.	*They drink water and eat yams.*
Tádà kwâ gə̀nyí, kwâ tádà gə̀nyí.	*A boy is not a man, a man is not a boy.*
Fùjíwò lórù, kə́rmù tàásà.	*Risks may be dangerous/harmful (but/and) death is an interruption.*
Kàsútù kə̀ráwò gə̀nyí, tímì bûlbè nə̀mzólìnzə́ nànkàrò.	*Laughter is not (indicative of) liking/loving, (but is) because of the craziness of the white teeth.*

CHAPTER 34: PREPOSITIONS AND OTHER OUT OF ORDER ELEMENTS

1. Introduction. At the end of the preceding chapter 33, it was noted that certain of the coordinating conjunctions were preposed in relation to their conjoined clauses and other constituents. There it was noted that these had been borrowed into the language from Arabic. All such preposed elements clearly violate the canonical typology of this SOV language, as it was introduced on pages 7 through 11. It is the purpose of the present chapter to present a number of prepositions which have similarly been borrowed into Kanuri. Unlike the conjunctions described in chapter 33 however, these prepositions are quite frequently used. Some are from Arabic, others have no known source. The chapter will also deal briefly with other violations of SOV typology which are frequent in Kanuri.

2. Prepositions.

2.1. The Preposition sái *until, etc*. This preposition occurs in many of the same uses in both Hausa and Kanuri. Linguists have yet to discover or agree on the source language from which it came into Kanuri. Its various uses and meanings are reflected in the following data sets. The translations are enough to show the differences in meaning and use.

Sái bálì.	*Until tomorrow.*
Sái wàjíà.	*Until tomorrow/the night has passed.*
Sái îskíà.	*Until (when) I come back.*
Sái îskíà dùwô.	*Not until when I come back.*
Kû lèngînbâ; sái bálì.	*I'm not going today, only tomorrow.*
Kû lèngînbâ; sái bálì dùwô.	*I'm not going today, not until tomorrow.*
Sái yîm ádə̀à dùwô búltùdə́ yíltə̂ bàdìwónò.	*It wasn't until that day that the hyena started howling.*
Sái kû dùwô cìwàndə́kò.	*It wasn't until today that I got it.*
Sái dàtə́gə́ràm Julybèà dùwô Yêrwàrò lèngîn.	*Not until the end of July will I go to Yerwa.*
Yêrwàrò lèngîn; sái dàtə́gə́ràm Julybèà dùwô.	*I am going to Yerwa; but not until the end of July.*
Yêrwàrò lèngînbâ, sái dàtə́gə́ràm Julybèà dùwô.	*I am not going to Yerwa, not until the end of July.*
Sái wáltə́míà dùwô kə̀lân mànàtə́gíyèn.	*Only when you have returned will we talk together about it.*

It should be noted at this point that in most of the examples already cited, and also in most of the examples which follow, prepositions like this one that have come into Kanuri from foreign sources, very frequently occur together with the postpositions and other postposed elements which are more characteristic of the language. In some cases these elements render the occurrence of the borrowed preposition almost redundant.

Sái wúrò gùllə̀míà.	*You have to tell me/Only when you tell me.*
Sái cíptíà.	*It has to be lanced (of a wound).*
Sái kàsútù kə̀jî wò.	*There is nothing but a nice laugh (of someone who doesn't answer but laughs).*
Sái dé lúwúwí gə̀nyâ mòwònjînbâ.	*Unless you come out it will not be possible.*
Sái lúwúwíà dùwô mòwònjîn.	*Only when you come out will it be possible.*
Lúwúwí gə̀nyâ mòwònjînbâ.	*Unless you come out it won't be possible.*
Sái rə̀mbúmíà dùwô mànàtə́gíyèn.	*Only when you have paid will we talk.*
*Sái rə̀mbúmíà gə̀nyâ mànàtə́gíyèn.	

Sái rəmbúmìn gənyâ mànàtəgíyènbâ.	*Unless you pay we won't talk.*
Kúngənànyí ngəwù bâ, sái nâirà fál.	*I don't have much money, only 1 naira.*
Ndúmá lèjînbâ, sái Álì.	*No one is going, only Ali.*
Kərmádərò ndúmá fátòlàn bâ, sái wúmá.	*Right now there is no one at home, save for me.*
(Sái) Álì gənyâ ndúmá lèjînbâ.	*Except for only Ali no one is going.*
Tújà Yêrwàrò lèjînbâ, sái hàwâr fátòbè fànjíà dùwô.	*Tuja is not going to Maiduguri, except/ unless/not until he hears news from home.*

Examples similar to these are treated on page 305.

2.2. The Preposition hár/háttá *up to, until, as far as, to the point that.* This preposition was borrowed into Kanuri from Arabic, and may be used in reference to time, distance, and also abstract notions. This preposition performs an intensifying/emphasizing function in Kanuri. It is frequently the case that the postposed emphasis marker +má is used in its concessive use together with it to mark the emphasized element, be it a nominal, adjectival, or verbal element. Prepositional phrases and other adverbial phrases introduced by this preposition are relatively autonomous and are free to occur anywhere, and frequently violate the SOV typology of the language in occurring after a main clause. The same can be said with regard to adverbials introduced by the preposition sái.

Kànùrí cótrò səlínà, hár títímàmá zəwòtînrò wálwònò.	*He has completely learned Kanuri, so much so that he can even tell folktales.*
Njîdə hár/háttá fânndémárò kádìo.	*The water came up even as far as our house.*
Shídə zâurò kúngənà səràgənà, hár/ háttá kàsúwùmárò lèwónò, kówò fálrò.	*Him he really loves money; so much that he went all the way to the market just for one kobo.*
Njî fízəgìndə, hár/háttá ísə cùmbùlô.	*He poured water in until it was completely filled up.*
Dìnâ nəngəlìjíà təmmárò sìnìmá fàndíyè shîmndé súrìnbâ, háttá nəngəlì kójìnmân.	*When the rainy season comes we never get to see a cinema, not until the rainy season passes.*
Háttá rèrènónzə kùrúwù kùrúwùsòdən kórósò làpsâi yé.	*(To the point that) They even load the very long splittings on donkeys.*
Mbàlnzə sâi ngǎi dùwô, hár zólìmá-gǎirò wáljìn.	*He goes on drinking his beer like that, to the point that he becomes even crazy-like.*

2.3. Other Preposed Elements. The preposed prepositional íllà *except* has been borrowed into Kanuri from Arabic. It is not as frequently used as the Kanuri gənyâ/nyâ/gənyíà *if not/save for*, to express this. The two may however be used together for emphasis.

Íllà kùrwûn mânyènmádə gənyâ, təmmân ráksə àbímǎyè sətàngàzəgìnbâ.	*Except for/Unless it is the very medicine that we are looking for, nothing can ever make him well.*
Kərmálàmnzədəyè shíà zánnàrò səkkînbâ íllà shí kàrəgə bûllà yé kàrəgən kâm sətâiwâ yé gənyâ.	*His being a malam will not put him into heaven, unless he has a pure heart and does not hold grudges (lit.: grab people in his heart).*

Another preposed element is the word bállè which has been borrowed from Hausa and means *much less, let alone, etc.* The preposed sókkù is also used in this way, though its source is not readily apparent. The more Kanuri ways of expressing this notion are however much preferred over these borrowed elements.

3. Exceptions to the SOV Typology of Kanuri. In part of chapter 33 and now in chapter 34, certain function words which have been borrowed into the language and which violate the canonical SOV typology of the language have been cited. These have been certain conjunctions, and a small group of quite important prepositions, most of which have been borrowed into Kanuri from Arabic.

Elsewhere in the language, certain other significant violations of the SOV typology seem to occur quite frequently. As in many languages, the violations of the canonical order in simple sentence usually involve an out of order constituent which is an afterthought in the context which is therefore appositional, and which the speaker originally took as a given in the context but but then realized that his listener might need the appositive distinction, specification or elaboration. Elsewhere, although oblique constituents are consistently the most common violators of the SOV order, both major and oblique constituents may follow the verb under certain conditions. When the finite verb form is in any way emphasized in the Kanuri sentence, i.e. either through the use of the verb emphasis completive (VEC) or the imperative form of the verb, then any major or oblique constituent may follow that verb form. In other environments, where the characteristics of a given aspect of the verb are such that the use of that aspect makes awkward the occurrence of a given constituent in pre-verb position, then that constituent will be postposed. This occurs frequently when the noun emphasis completive (NEC) aspect is used. In this case a major constituent, either a subject or an object NP, is emphasized by the verb form, and any oblique constituents may be postposed after the verb. With other aspects of the verb when a given constituent is somehow emphasized, questioned or negated, then other major or oblique constituents may follow the verb form.

Adverbial nouns, and all oblique postpositional phrases are among the elements most commonly postposed in violation of the SOV order. Also falling into this category are subordinate adverbial clauses or sentence adverbs, most of which represent a form of postpositional phrase in Kanuri since it is normally the postpositions of the language which function as subordinators. In this area it is especially those adverbials and subordinate clauses marked by the indirect postposition +rò which may freely violate and follow the main verb in a sentence. Among the most common violators are the reason and purpose clauses, and also certain temporal adverbial clauses. Certain nominal clauses marked also by the indirect postposition frequently follow their main verb. The following set of examples is designed to familiarize the reader and the student of Kanuri with the kinds of commonly occurring SOV typology violations which have been described in this section.

Rúkə́nà(,) shíà.	*I saw him, him.*
Lèzə́nà(,) shí.	*He has gone, him.*
Rúkí(,) àwó shímmàdə́à.	*I see it, what you gave me.*
Wúmá lèngō kàsúwùdə́rò.	*It was I who went, to the market.*
Shímá lèjîn Mákkàrò.	*Even he is going, to Mecca.*
Kúrà, shídə́.	*It is big, that one.*
Kàrágə́ tə̀làmwá kàdábè súródə̂n sàpsō, shí málàm rùwòmánzə́də́yè.	*He collected proverbs from many languages, he the writer.*
Kâm gàdé sàndírò kùdòmá yé báwò, wûn kàjíà.	*There is no one else who could bring it to them, except for me.*
Ngō, lènówó dùwànówó sáwànyí ngàzə́.	*Here, go and slaughter it so that my friend will get better.*
Lèjîn, kúngə́nà màtàrò.	*He is going, to look for money.*
Kùrú sàbísórò sàwàwánzə́à shàwàrjîn, jílì hàlwá-à àdàwá-à súró lárdə̀ Bórnòbèn tə̀dînmádə́ sámmásórò.	*And what is more he always consulted his friends, over the kinds of customs and traditions that were done in Borno country.*

Dàjí, cárì súró fátòbèrò gàgə̂ ngə́lárò dùwàzə̂, súsù tádà gànábèdə́rò.	*So then the old man entered into the house and slaughtered the ram, instead/ in the place of the small child.*
Ndúmá lèjînbâ, sái wúmá.	*No one is going, but me.*
Àndí sámmá zólì, kàànzə̀wúdə́à.	*We are all crazy, in his opinion.*
Àbí díkìn mbàldə́rò?	*What would I do with alcohol?*
Àbí díkìn cárìrò?	*What would I do with an old man?*
Lá lá wángə́nà cárìà.	*No no, I dislike an old man.*
Kàjîm kúdé wúrò.	*Bring grass to me.*
Câ wúmá lèngîn nânə́mrò.	*I had been planning to go to your place.*
Álà kòrò bàdìwónò, nâ màlàmwá Yêrwàbèn.	*He started asking God, at the place of the malams of Yerwa.*
Nândérò ngə́wùrò ísə́nà, kə̀lâ lámàr ádə̀bèn.	*He came many times to our place, over this matter.*
Gùlzâi, ìndísó.	*They say it, both ways/both of them.*
Mànàgə́kə́nà, shírò.	*I spoke to him, to him.*

CHAPTER 35: THE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF THE CONJUNCTIVE FORM OF THE VERB

1. Introduction. Finite verb forms in the conjunctive form of the verb carry only clitic subject morphemes specified for person and number, and no aspect or tense morphemes. The conjunctive may not carry a negative morpheme either. Thus unlike any other finite paradigm of the Kanuri verb, the sequential may never occur independently. A conjunctive verb form is dependent on a subsequent verb form, i.e. the construction final verb form, for specification with regard to tense/aspect and affirmative/negative. For a complete description of the derivation and the writing of the conjunctive aspect, see p. 128.

The conjunctive is often used to conjoin a series of verb phrases describing actions in the same aspect, and the order of the conjoined verb phrases reflects the order or sequence in which the events occurred. In many of its uses the same subject is carried by each of the verbs in the conjoined series, though this is not required, as will be shown.

The conjunctive is "always found with a following verb, whether it be future, present, or past time. It ... therefore ... carries the action forward, it progresses sometimes through a number of verbs, to a final goal, and it is not till then that the time to which the verb or verbs in the Conjunctive refers can be ascertained." (Ellison, 1937:81). It is apparent that, though the conjunctive does relate the order in which conjoined events occur, it imparts no prominence to any of the events conjoined in this way. The "final goal" or finally fully specified verb form, signals that the entire preceding series of conjunctive verb phrases is to be combined with the final verb form to produce a composite meaning, made up of the equal components of a total event.

"The CONJUNCTIVE is used only for actions regarded as merely parts of one comprehensive integral event and not as being individually significant events in themselves. Thus the CONJUNCTIVE imparts unity to the actions depicted, and conversely, it enables these actions to be described without given them unwanted prominence. ... A more exact term for this paradigm might be 'Unificatory', ... (Jarrett, 1979:18). This "unity" imparted by the conjunctive to the series of actions depicted is apparent from the morphology and the dependent status of the paradigm. It is reflected in the way that the conjunctive carries the action forward to another action which then carries the composite action forward, not to be united until the final verb form completes the composite picture morphologically, and therefore semantically also.

The interdependence of equal components of a "comprehensive integral event" that is implicit to these constructions, lends itself readily to certain idiomatic uses through the combination of verb phrases which do not reflect consecutive component parts. As will be seen, the verb *return* in the conjunctive may be used to connote *do over/again*, the verb *be first* to connote *already do*, and the verb *be capable* in the conjunctive, to connote the modal *can*. Similarly the verb *find* in the conjunctive may connote *to get to do*. Some of these constructions resemble the serial verb constructions which have been documented for other African languages, where more than one verb is used to communicate one verbal activity. The morphology and the semantics of the conjunctive lend themselves to this combinatory function.

2. Uses of the Conjunctive Form of the Verb.

2.1. The Conjunction of the Components of an Integral Event. In the following examples, the order of the subparts of an integral event is reflected in the order of the conjunctive verb phrases.

Kə̀mbûnzá záwù njînzá sásà dàânyǎ, múkkònzá tùtúlzà nápkàdà.	*When they had finished eating their food and drinking their water, they washed their hands and sat down.*
Kəràzə̂ máləmrò wálwònò.	*He studied and became a malam.*
Mágə̀ wòsôn lèzə̂ yânzə́ súrìn.	*Every week he goes and sees his mother.*
Kúngə́nà sàmzə̂ cót tàmòtə́rò gàná gàpsǒ.	*She gave out the money and/until it was almost completely gone.*
Kôssǒ sùwúdə̀ gənázə̀ àndíà tə́màrò sə̀kkîn.	*He brought cups and put them down and made us hopefully expectant.*
Sâ ngúdò ádə̀ fàrjînlàdə̂n, shîm kámúdə́bè fál wàrzə̂ fàrzə̂ dìnânzə́rò kàrgáwò.	*When the bird was taking off, it snatched up one of the woman's eyes and flew off and entered its own world.*
Ngǒ, dàné lěngè nyírò àllónyí góngè kúkkè rúi.	*Say, wait and I will go and get my slate and bring it to you to see.*
Lěngè kəmbû mângè búkè ísə́kìn.	*I'll go and get some food and eat it and come back.*
Cǐngè lěngè njî mângè kúkkè bə́rì dêngè búkìn.	*I'll get up and go and get water and bring it back and cook the meal and eat.*
Álì lèzə̂ kárènzə́ gózə̀ kádìo.	*Ali went and picked up his things and came.*
Lěngè ísə́kə̀nyí.	*I didn't go and come back.*
Wàndé njîmnə́m fərə́mnəm kàntánà gàgə̂nyí.	*Don't open your room and let the mosquitoes enter.*
Kàngádìlàn námnəm wàndé fê fárəmí.	*Don't sit down on the horns and gossip about the cattle.*
Kàsúwùrò lènyê Álìyè kànyî káiwò.	*We went to the market and Ali bought a goat.*
Àrgə̂m làdə̂m kànyî yíwùm búltùyè gójìn.	*You sell millet and buy a goat and the hyena takes it.*
Bágàn lěngè cìdàngîn.	*I will go and work in Baga.*
Bárèlàn lěngè kádíkò.	*I went and came back from farming.*
Ísà bə́jìsǒ àwòwá gàpsə́nàsǒ cásáwìn.	*They come and buy mats and everything else.*
Yàngênyí ádə̀ bískà njî kánnúàrò yìkkə́kè dùwô cùtùlùwúkò.	*Yesterday I put these pants of mine into hot water and then took them out.*
Cìzə̂ lèzə̂nyí, kǎusùrò kàrgâ.	*He didn't get up and go, he stayed until noon.*
Bùnèzə̂ fə̂rnzə́ kòlzə̂ bə́làrò kádìo.	*It became night and he left his horse and came into town.*

2.2. Use of the 2S Conjunctive Form to Conjoin Verbal Nouns. The 2S conjunctive verb form is used for all but the final verbal noun when two or more verbal nouns are conjoined in a series. In this use the 2S form no longer carries second person meaning. Here the final nonfinite verbal noun gives a nonfinite reading to all preceding 2S conjunctive verb forms.

Mátò yíwùm Mákkàrò lètə́ ràákə́nà.	*I want to buy a car and go to Mecca.*
Yìngə́làrò lènə̂m kə́ràrò ráwànyíyè wúà dápkònò.	*My uncle stopped me from going to study in England.*
Yêrwàn lènə̂m cídà fàndòrò wúrò mòwònjînbâ.	*It will be impossible for me to go and get work in Yerwa.*
Kə́rì làdə̂m dágə̀l njìwò.	*Selling the dog and buying a monkey.*
Rángnə̂m lènə̂m kə́ràrò nyànyénà.	*We plan to be able to go and study.*
Bámàrò lènə̂m kə̀nshê zâu.	*Going to Bama and back is difficult.*
Yânzə́ lènə̂m kùrûrò mágə̀n fálrò lètə́ ngə̀nəptə́nà.	*He made every effort to go and see his mother once a week.*
Kə̀mbàlrò fàrnə̂m lètə́ ngànzàzánà.	*They tried to (jump and go) fly to the moon.*

Based in this construction type, the following examples are used in editing and printing in Nigeria.

rûm yàsà	*(see and repair) correcting*
gâm kùrû	*(follow and see) revising*
kərànə̂m kùrû	*(read and see) proofreading*
wâltə̀m bàktà	*(return and beat) reprinting, retyping*

The 2S conjunctive verb form also occurs in certain compound nominals that are actually based in a conjunctive series. In the following set of examples, the 2S conjunctive is followed within each compound by the 2S imperative verb form.

mánə̀m+bûi	*look for and eat*	**mànə̀mbûi**	*daily bread, livelihood*
lènə̂m+àré	*go and come*	**lènə̂màré**	*round trip, to and fro*
bònə̂m+wàné	*lie down and pass the night*	**bònə̂mwàné**	*passage of time, time, day in and day out*
dərínə̀m+kə́llé	*go around and join*	**dərìnə̀mkə̀llé**	*all the way around, perimeter, circumference*
bònə̂m+də̀gâi	*lie down and live*	**bònə̂mdə̀gâi**	*woman's jumper type*
dûtə̀m+fêté	*sew and undo*	**dùtə̀mfèté**	*mix-up, confusion, sth done uselessly*
dànə̂m+wállé	*stop and become/return/ turn back*	**dànə̂mwâllé**	*retreat, sudden turning back*
gâm+àré	*follow and come*	**gàmàré**	*bamboo formerly used for policemen's nightsticks*
shìllə̂m+bûi	*skin and eat*	**shìllə̀mbûi**	*unshelled peanuts*
yádə̀m+kûdé	*carry and bring back*	**yàdə̀mkùdé**	*gossip, rumors, spreading rumors to alienate 2 parties*

2.3. Idiomatic and Serial-Type Uses of the Conjunctive Form of the Verb. The following examples demonstrate some of the idiomatic uses of the conjunctive, and also cases where more than one verb is used in a serial-type of construction to express a single verbal meaning. Some of the examples correspond to modals in other languages. In other cases a conjunctive series is used to express an adverbial meaning.

Bə́rì dézə̀ bàfə̂nyí.	*She did not completely cook the food.*
Wûà bùrwòzə̂ kádìo.	*He came before me.*
Ráksə̀ rùwòjînbâ.	*He cannot write.*
Bùrwòzə̂ sə̀dô.	*He did it before me.*
Yîm láá ísə̀ bârò wáljìn.	*One day it will come to the point that none is left.*
Cídànzə́də́ ásûzə̀ cótrò dàzə́nà.	*He has completely learned that job of his.*
Rânggè kùwádə̀ gərêngìnbâ.	*I cannot wait any longer.*
Rânggè wû kályè ádə̀à díkìnbâ.	*I (mere me) cannot do this.*
Nâ fèròwánzábèrò gə́mjìgə̀nnyâ, cìntə̀zə̂ dàwə́nò.	*When he reached the place of their girls, he stood far away.*
Dàjí ngáwò àbísó fànzə́nàbèn lárdə̀nzə́rò wálgàtə̀ nyâ wáltə̀m ísə̀m lárdə̀ Bórnòbè kə̀mbûbèlàn.	*Then after he had heard everything he returned to his country with the intention of returning to conquer the Borno area.*
Nôngèmá dàzə̂nyí.	*I don't even know it completely.*
Tái dângè nòngə́nà.	*I know it perfectly.*
Am sámmá ísà dàzə́nà.	*All the people finished arriving.*
Am sámmá ísà dàzə̂nyí.	*All the people haven't finished arriving.*
Fàndə́kè lèngə̂nyí.	*I didn't get to go.*
Wàndé shíà kòllə̂m fátòlàn sùlúwùnyí.	*Don't let him leave the house.*

2.4. Uses of the Conjunctive Forms of the Verb ngin. Based in its meanings *say/think*, the conjunctive forms of the verb ngin are frequently used to express thought, deception, and pretending, as shown in the following examples.

Wú dóndì ngè ásə̀m cìdə́kò.	*I pretended saying I was sick.*
Sâ mátòlàn sùkkùrúnàdə́ núnà sə̀ kàrgâ.	*He thought he had died when he had the car accident.*
Mátònyí bə̀lín ngè sàndíà fǎingè cìlàdə́kò.	*Saying that my car was new I convinced them and sold it.*
Njî láá shírò kùrwûn sà cádò.	*They brought him some liquid saying that it was medicine.*

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Appendix 1: Class 1 Verbs

verbal nouns	*imperfect aspect forms: 1S/2S/3P*	*meaning*
bà, kə̀mbâ	bákìn, zə̀wâi, zàwâi	*mount, ride*
bàfò	bàfúkìn, bàfín, bàwàfín	*ripen*
bótó	bòtə́kìn, zùwòtín, zòwòtín	*tell (story)*
bù, kə̀mbû	búkìn, zə́wìn, záwìn	*eat*
bùrò	búrə̀kìn, zə̀wúrìn, zàwúrìn	*move, migrate*
də̀gà, kə̀ndə́gà	də̀gákìn, də̀gâi, dàwín	*live, stay, exist*
dìo, kə̀ndó	díkìn, sə̀dín, sàdín	*do*
dòrò	dórə̀kìn, súdórìn, sódórìn	*gather up*
dùrò	dùrə́kìn, sùdùrín, sòdùrín	*fall (of rain)*
dùtò	dùtə́kìn, sùdùtín, sòdùtín	*sew*
fàndò	fàndə́kìn, sə̀wàndín, sàwàndín	*find, get*
fàrò	fárə̀kìn, sə̀wárìn, sàwárìn	*slander*
fètò, nzə̀wètò	fétə̀kìn, sə̀wétìn, sàwétìn	*undo, unplait*
fə̀rtò	fə̀rtə́kìn, sə̀wə̀rtín, sàwə̀rtín	*pluck, pick*
gà, kə̀ngâ	gákìn, zə̀gâi, zàâi	*follow*
gàdò	gádə̀kìn, zə̀gádìn, zàádìn	*argue (usu pl)*
gàmbò	gámbə̀kìn, zə̀gámbìn, zàámbìn	*scratch*
gàndò	gándə̀kìn, zə̀gándìn, zàándìn	*lick*
gàntò	gántə̀kìn, zə̀gántìn, zàántìn	*acquire*
gàwò	gàákìn, gàyín, gàgàyín/gàsàyín	*enter*
gə̀làwo	gə́lágə̀kìn, gə́láyìn, gáláyìn	*spend a year*
gə̀ndò	gə̀ndə́kìn, zə̀gə̀ndín, zàgə̀ndín	*move, shake up*
gə̀rò	gə̀rə́kìn, zə̀gə̀rín, zàgə̀rín	*chew, masticate*
gùtò/, nzùwùtò gùdò	gùtə́kìn, zùwùtín/, zòwùtín/ sùwùtín	*warm o.s. in sun;* *draw water*
ìsò, kə̀nshê, kə̀nshô kə̀ndê	ísə̀kìn/ískìn, íshìn, ísài	*come, arrive*
jèrò	jérə̀kìn, sə̀ryérìn/, sèryérìn/ sìyérìn sèérìn	*tie up*
kàltò	káltə̀kìn, sə̀gáltìn, sàáltìn	*break fast; tie rope*
kàrò, nzə̀kàrò	kàrə́kìn, sə̀gàrín, sààrín	*forge, carve, cast*
kàsò	kàsə́kìn/kàskìn, sə̀gàshín, sààsâi	*run*
kə̀ndò, nzə̀gə̀ndò	kə́ndə̀kìn, sə̀gə́ndìn, sàgə́ndìn	*tie baby to back*
kòrò	kórə̀kìn, súwórìn, sówórìn	*ask*
kùdò	kúdə̀kìn/kûkkìn, súwúdìn, sówúdìn	*bring*
kùtò	kùtə́kìn, sùwùtín, sòwùtín	*stir food*
làdò, nzə̀làdò	làdə́kìn, sə̀làdín, sàlàdín	*sell*
làndò, nzə̀làndò	làndə́kìn, sə̀làndín, sàlàndín	*churn, shake*
làrò, nzə̀làrò	làrə́kìn, sə̀làrín, sàlàrín	*live in luxury*
lìò, kə̀lió, nzə̀lìò	líkìn, sə́lìn, sálìn	*learn*
lìwò, nzə̀lìwò	lìwúkìn, sə̀lìwín, sàlìwín	*protect*
lòrò, nzə̀lòrò	lòrə́kìn, sùlòrín, sòlòrín	*boil (usu 3S)*
lòrò, nzə̀lòrò	lórə̀kìn, sùlórìn, sòlórìn	*collect & take away*
lùwò	lúwùkìn, sùlúyìn, sòlúyìn	*go out, leave*
mèrò	mèrə́kìn, sə̀mèrín, sàmèrín	*recover*
mìntò	mìntə́kìn, sə̀mìntín, sàmìntín	*remove grains from mill*
mòwò, nzə̀mòwò	mówòkìn, sə́móyìn, sámóyìn	*take, get*
mù, kə̀mû	múkìn, sə́mìn, sámìn	*put on (clothes)*
nàndò, nzə̀nàndò	nándə̀kìn, sə̀nándìn, sànándìn	*bite*
nàtò, nzə̀nàtò	nàtə́kìn, sə̀nàtín, sànàtín	*sow, plant*
nòtò, nzə̀nòtò	nótə̀kìn, súnótìn, sónótìn	*commission s.o.*
nù, kə̀rmû	núkìn, sûi, sónìn	*die*
nyò	nyə̀gə́kìn, sə̀nyèyín, sànyèyín	*herd, pasture*

verbal nouns	*imperfect aspect forms: 2S/2S/3P*	*meaning*
ràwò, nzə̀ràwò	ràákìn, sə̀ràyín, sàràyín	*like, want, love*
rᵊmbò, nzᵊrə̀mbò	rə̀mbə́kìn, sə̀rə̀mbín, sàrə̀mbín	*reimburse*
rə̀ndò, nzə̀rə̀ndò	rə̀ndə́kìn, sə̀rə̀ndín, sàrə̀ndín	*hurt (usu 3S)*
rə̀ptò	rə̀ptə́kìn, sə̀rə̀ptín, sàrə̀ptín	*bury*
rìndò	ríndə̀kìn, sə̀ríndìn, sàríndìn	*tire of waiting*
rù, kùrû	rúkìn, súrìn, sórìn	*see*
sàwò	ságə̀kìn, sə̀sáyìn, sàsáyìn	*lower, bring down*
sàwò, nzə̀sàwò	sàwúkìn, sə̀sàwín, sàsàwín	*winnow, sift*
sàngò, nzə̀sàngò	sàngə́kìn, sə̀sàngín, sàsàngín	*lift up, start*
tà, kə̀ntâ	tákìn, sə́tài, sátài	*seize, grab*
tàdò	tàdíyèn, tàdín *(pl only)*	*meet each other*
tàmbò, nzə̀tàmbò	támbə̀kìn, sə́támbìn, sátámbìn	*taste*
tàndò, nzə̀tàndò	tándə̀kìn, sə̀tándìn, sàtándìn	*build*
tèrò	tèrə́kìn, sə̀tètín, sàtèrín/sètèrín	*remove, carry away*
tìò, kə̀ntô	tíkìn, sə̀tín, sàtín	*equal, suffice*
tìyèrò	tìyèrə́kìn/, tìyèrín/, ?tìyèrâin	*fail to do*
	tə̀gərə́kìn tə̀gərín	
tòmò	tòmín *(3P only)*	*enter in group*
wàrò, nzə̀wàrò	wárə̀kìn, sə́wárìn, sə́wárìn	*recover from long illness*
yà, nzà, kə̀nzâ	yákìn, sâi, sásâi	*drink*
yàdò, nzàdò	yádə̀kìn/, sádìn, sáadìn/	*carry away, take to*
	yâkkìn sásádìn	
yàlà, yòlò	yálàkìn/, sálâi, sásálâi/	*amuse child*
	yólòkìn sùlóyìn	
yàmbò, nzàmbò	yàmbə́kìn, sàmbín, sàsàmbín	*bear, give birth*
tàmbò	tàmbə́kìn, sàmbín, tàsàmbín	*be born*
yàmbò, nzàmbò	yámbə̀kìn, sámbìn, sòsómbìn	*burn (usu 3S)*
yàmbàtà	yàmbàtákìn, sàmbàtâi, sàsàmbàtâi	*find out, check on*
yàmbùtò, nzàmbùtò	yàmbùtə́kìn, sàmbùtín, sàsàmbùtín	*bark (usu 3S/P)*
yàngàngà, nzàngàngà	yàngàngákìn, sàngàngâi, sàsàngàngâi	*imitate, ape*
yàrgàlò, nzàrgàlò	yàrgàlə́kìn, sàrgàlín, sàsàrgàlín	
yàrò, nzàrò	yàrùwə́kìn, sàrùyín, sàsàrùyín	*redeem*
yàsà, nzàsà	yàsákìn, sàsâi, sààsâi/sàsàsâi	*repair*
yàsə̀rà, nzàsə̀rà	yàsə̀rákìn, sàsə̀râi, sàsàrâi	*believe*
yàsə̀rà, nzásə̀rà	yàsə̀rákìn, sàsə̀râi, sàsàrâi	*cough*
yàttò, nzàttò	yàttə́kìn, sàttín, sàsàttín	*plait, braid*
yàwùtò, nzàwùtò	yàwùtə́kìn, sàwùtín, sàsàwùtín	*fan*
yèndò	yéndə̀kìn, séndìn, sádéndìn	*tolerate*
yèttò, nzèttò	yèttə́kìn, sèttín, sàsèttín	*water (animal)*
yèzò, njèzò	yèzə́kìn/yěskìn, cèjín, cèshènín	*kill, destroy*
yìmbàrò, nzə̀mbàrò	yìmbàrə́kìn, sə̀mbàrín, sàsàmbàrín	*be tired*
yìmbə̀lò, nzə̀mbə̀lò	yìmbə̀lə́kìn, sə̀mbə̀lín, sàsàmbə̀lín	*fill*
yìmbò, nzə̀mbò	yìmbə́kìn, sə̀mbín, sàmbín/sàsàmbín	*nurse, milk*
yìndò, nzə̀ndò	yìndə́kìn, sə̀ndín, sàsə̀ndín	*swallow*
yìrò, sô, nzə̀rò	yírə̀kìn, círìn, cásárìn	*cry, weep*
yìwò, njìwò	yíwə̀kìn, cíwìn, céshéwìn/cásáwìn	*buy*
yìrgàtò, nzə̀rgàtò	yìrgàtə́kìn, sə̀rgátìn, sàsə̀rgátìn	*mention*
yò, njò, kə̀njô	yíkìn, cín, sádìn	*give*
yòrdò, nzòrdò	yòrdúgə̀kìn, sòrdúyìn, sòsòrdúyìn	*accompany*
?	yòwógə̀kìn, sə̀wòyín, sàwòyín	*reflect over*
*yùrò	*yùrúkìn, sùrín, sòrín	
yùkkùrò, nzùkkùrò	yùkkùrúkìn, sùkkùrín, sòkkùrín	*fall down*
yùrtò	yùrtə́kìn, sùrtín, sòsùrtín	*complete, fill in balance*

Appendix 2: The Stems of Verb Class 2

bák+	*beat, strike, hit*
bə́bə́t+	*smell good*
bə̀lə̀+	*make inebriated*
bə̀m+	*live in luxury*
bə̀mbərə̀m+	*run wild, flirt*
bə́n+	*lie down; roost*
bə̀rə́n+	*rub*
bə̀rə́t+	*grow without rain*
bìrò+	*pierce palate to let blood*
bís+ *II+III*	*perform magic on, harm*
bò+	*lie down*
bòlòló+	*bleat*
bòr+	*paint stripes to humiliate*
bòrbòrá+	*grow to childhood*
bòskù+	*refuse success, make fail*
bówó+	*call, name*
càlíp+	*talk nonsense crazily*
càlwák+	*mix up, confuse*
càm+	*grab, tear off piece of*
càmbál+	*slosh*
càmbàlám+	*carry o.s. uncontrollably*
càwùlə̀m+	*jabber, talk nonsense*
cè+	*move, remove, plow* =kè+
cècé+	*drain off, pour top off*
cèlàp+ *II+III*	*jump up on*
cét+	*scrape away*
cì+	*get up, start*
cící+	*smoke away insects; incense*
cín+	*wipe, rub*
cíp+	*lance, prick*
cís+ *II*	*take care of* =njís+
còk+	*take pinch; walk tip-toed*
còl+	*poke, stick with stick*
còngòl+	*stab*
dà+	*stand, stop*
dàk+	*fear; stand in awe of*
dál+	*dye, soak*
dàm+	*become crowded*
dám+	*seep, ooze out*
dàmbú+	*beat with great force*
dàp+	*refuse, prevent*
dàr+	*settle down, calm down*
dás+	*scrape*
dé+	*cook, boil*
dèl+	*fix, patch, mend*
də́də́k+	*pat, calm a child*
də̀gár+	*gin, comb out*
də̀gə́n+	*limp*
də́m+	*stay forever*
də̀mdə̀m+	*become congested*
də̀ngə̀s+	*prop, wedge up, support*
də́p+	*reject, divorce*
də̀rə̀m+	*tie together in group*
də́rí+	*go around, avoid*
də̀rù+	*tie together in row*
də̀rwá+	*stir up bottom sediment*
dì+	*mix up, prepare*
dír+/dídír+	*cut into strips*
dòwóp+	*sow, plant*
dú+	*chase, drive away*
dùlò+	*tie up (animals) in row*
dùngòk+	*bend, crook*
dùngòl+	*veer off, change course*
dùngù+	*become lame*
dùr+	*chain, tie up (prisoners)*
dùwù+	*sneak about, prowl*
fá+	*wake up; melt*
fáfá+	*grow by creeping*
fáfár+	*unravel, unroll*
fáfát+	*grope, feel around for*
fàgàr+	*be late due to weariness*
fágə́lám+	*stagger; wander aimlessly*
fài+	*ward off, protect, block view*
fái+	*coax, persuade, sway over*
fàl+	*change, exchange*
fál+	*break open, cut across, ford*
fàlái+	*reveal, expose*
fàlálá+	*flow, spill over*
fàn+	*hear, understand*
fàngà+	*sift thru sand for grain*
fàr+	*jump, fly, dance*
fár+	*back out of deal*
fàrlàk+	*break word, promise*
fárwá+	*wake up, become alert*
fàs+	*go down (of swelling)*
fàshè+	*crack (groundnuts)*
fàtál+	*become able to walk*
fát+ *II*	*get lost +III be lost*
fât+ *II*	*lean, put up against*
fàtə̀rà+	*grope, feel around*
fèdá+	*spread out to cool*
féfé+	*unravel, unwind, undo*
féfét+	*feel ill (of one's heart)*
fér+	*spread, lay out*
fés+	*shake to sort; fan out (tail)*
fə́fə́s+	*crumble, break up*
fə̀fə̀t+	*flap wings; convulse*
fə́gə́lá+	*III writhe in agony*
fə̀k+	*empty out, pour out*
fə́lé+	*show*
fə̀lí+	*tilt, tip over at angle*
fə̀lók+	*split*
fə́rá+	*sweep up*
fə́rát+	*lose, give up hop*
fə̀rèt+	*hold up, examine gown*
fə̀rə́m+	*open*
fə́rə́s+	*escape, run away*
fə̀rə̀t+	*spit out; wear out edge of*
fə̀rfə́r+	*spread manure*
fə́rí+	*spin (thread etc)*

Appendix 2: The Stems of Verb Class 2

fə̀rtə̀k+	*convulse, shake violently*
fə́s+	*(of moon) rise in evening sky*
fə̀sfə́s+	*crumble*
fə̀t+	*spray water from mouth*
fə́t+	*give up hope after waiting*
fə̀tfə̀t+	*fan (with straw mat)*
fí+	*pour out*
fíl+	*bud, blossom*
fìn+	*flood, boil, foam over*
fìngàs+	*turn, bend back end of*
fír+	*separate, isolate, set apart*
fìràt+	*strip leaves off; whip*
fírífírí+	*pierce, drill*
fìsàt+	*tell tales on, expose*
fít+	*pull out, unsheathe*
fìyàt+	*whip, flog*
fòdàm+	*cover and conceal hole*
fódú+	*discover*
fòk+	*stand before in veneration*
fók+	*join, unite*
fóm+/fófóm+	*stroll*
fòs+	*calm down after argument*
fù+	*blow*
fú+	*swell*
fúl+	*bathe (new baby)*
fúrúfúrú+	*touch and drag(tail)*
fùrwà+	*inflate, blow up*
gá+	*catch fire* =mé+
gàjál+/gàjálgàjál+	*rough up*
gák+	*produce new leaves*
gàl+	*measure, buy quantities*
gál+	*sharpen, warp*
gàmbàrà+	*mix in equal proportions*
gámín+	*III take over*
gànjál+	*handle child roughly*
gàp+	*remain, be left*
gár+	*build*
gáráp+	*slice off, prune* =káráp+
gárláp+	*gallop*
gàsár+	*rough up, beat*
gáshíp+	*question, interrogate*
gàt+	*corral, herd*
gát+	*appoint*
gáyír+	*distinguish*
gàzáp+	*annoy, irritate*
gə̀də́l+	*wiggle, jump around*
gə̀làgə̀là+	*shout non-stop praises*
gə̀làs+	*II roll up (sleeves)*
gə́m+	*II reach, attain, go far as*
gə̀mòk+	*bend, dent in*
gə̀ná+	*place, put down*
gə̀p+	*throw*
gə́r+	*drag, pull along*
gə̀rà+	*hide*
gə̀ràn	*hide*
gə̀rás+	*jerk, pull*
gə̀ré+	*wait, watch out for*
gə́ré+	*put next to, side by side*
gə́rgá+	*become angry, get mad*
gə̀rjá+	*cut with dull knife*
gə̀rjí+	*saw*
gə̀rmə́s+	*waste away*
gə̀rnás+	*trample, tread and crush*
gə̀rnyè+	*crush (with implement)*
gə̀ró+	*II+III cross paths*
gə́t+	*become humid*
gə́wálgə́wál+	*rinse hand in water*
gə̀wát+	*step on*
gə̀wúr+	*pound in mortar*
gə̀zà+	*ridicule, tease*
gə̀zə̀k*	*shake to mix up in hand*
gíyágíyá+	*crack (one's voice)*
gó+	*take*
gùlá+	*speak foreign language*
gùlúm+	*rinse mouth out*
gúr+	*whip, flog*
gùrùn+	*work hard*
gùrùp+	*poke, butt*
gùzùgùzù+	*knock down from above*
hák+	*hawk, cough up*
hálák+	*turn over* =kálák+
hám+	*cool off, heal*
hángá+	*straighten out*
háp+	*lift up, raise*
hàr+	*III was o.s. with clothes on*
hár+	*dry*
hárák+	*chop off ends of, trim*
hàríp+	*rook, cheat, swindle*
háwú+	*gather up together*
jájá+	*clean and sort with water*
jàl+	*rinse*
jè+	*dissolve*
jé+	*watch over, wait for; lead*
jínát+	*lash, whip down (of rain)*
jìwà+/jùwà+	*weed, harrow*
jòró+	*swing*
kà+	*escape, avoid*
ká+	*open, uncover*
kádál+	*commit infanticide*
kàdàr+	*pay in kind; pre-ordain*
kádú+	*pursue, follow*
kài+	*skin animal*
kàjà+	*circumcise*
káká+	*cluck*
kákás+	*de-bark a tree*
kákát+/kékét+	*clear up (of sky)*
kàl+	*stop, check, block*
kál+	*break open, hatch*

Appendix 2: The Stems of Verb Class 2

kálák+	=hálák+
kálás+	*pound lightly in mortar*
kàlàwù+	*pick thru and gather best*
kàlì+	*get better (of cold)*
kálwá+	*rinse out, swill*
kám+	*cut*
kàmàt+	*knead, crumple*
kàp+	*intercept, cut off*
káp+	*become soft, dissolve*
kár+	*prepare soup*
kàràmsá+	*wander aimlessly*
kàràp+	*talk into sth*
káráp+	=gáráp+
kárás+	*proceed well-organized*
káráwá+	*laud, praise*
kàs+ *II*	*settle up with, pay off*
kás+	*wean, separate*
kásár+	*buy in small quantities*
kàsàt+	*agree*
kát+	*skim, clean off*
kàwàk+	*multiply, increase*
kàyé+	*fry (in oil)*
kázáp+	*gather bit by bit*
ké+	=cé+
kə́jí+	*install cooking tripod*
kə́kə́t+	*have fit, convulsions*
kə́l+	*join, add to*
kə̀lá+/kə́lá+	*roll into ball*
kə̀lé+	*wrap around*
kə́lí+	*roll, fold up*
kə̀lìsà+	*exercise*
kə́m+	*shut, clench*
kə̀mə̀s+	*wrinkle up*
kə́mə́s+	*squeeze, wring hands*
kə̀ngə̀r+	*urinate (of cow etc)*
kə́p+	*put and hold together*
kə̀r+	*freeze*
kə́r+	*tie up, braid*
kə́rák+	*rip apart, rend*
kə́rát+	*sharpen, hone*
kə́ré+	*sort out, select*
kə́rə́m+	*harvest heads off stalks*
kə́rə́n+	*listen*
kə̀rí+	*tip, incline, turn*
kə́rzák+	*be lop-sided*
kə̀sə́r+	*squeeze in narrow space*
kə̀skə̀sá+	*wander aimlessly*
kə́zá+	*moisten to soften*
kímí+	*pulverize, crush in hand*
kó+	*pass, surpass*
kòdá+	*boil*
kòdòwù+	*cut down and clear*
kòk+	*peck*
kók+	*plant*
kókór+/kórkór+	*turn, rotate*
kɛ̀l+	*leave, quit*
kól+	*rap with knuckles*
kóló+	*swing around, spin*
kòr+	*fence off, head off*
kówó+	*beat, pound*
kùfáfá+	*grow in wealth, influence*
kúkús+	*nibble*
kúl+	*gain weight*
kùlái+	*pick out (of nose)*
kúlás+	*search, investigate*
kúlét+	*touch with fingertip*
kùlít+ *II*	*feed (newborn)*
kúlók+	*lance (boil)*
kùlòlòk+	*knock down from tree*
kúm+	*shave*
kùp+	*dig up, cultivate*
kúr+	*draw, trace*
kùrài+	*scrape off gradually*
kùrét+	*scratch*
kúrtú+	*tie up with rope*
kùrúm+	*ladle out, scoop out*
kúrúp+	*sew shut*
kúshé+	*search for*
kùshèkùshè+ *III*	*show off*
kùsùl+	*disappear from lack of use*
kùwàl+	*pick at (pimple)*
kúwár+	*scrape off, scratch at*
kúwúl+	*shell, peel, skin*
kùyá+	*run wild*
kùzók+	*chip off*
kwàs+ *III*	*sit proudly, cockily*
lá+	*dig*
làblàwá+	*persuade with sweet words*
lái+	*have faith, confidence*
làilài+	*flatter, praise*
lálá+	*winnow in wind*
làlàm+	*feel sick (of heart)*
láláp+	*daub, pat*
láláu+	*rub, touch, fondle*
lám+	*wash face of*
lámshé+	*attach, tie up loosely*
làn+	*insult*
làp+	*load (donkey)*
láp+	*persuade of evil things*
lás+ *II*	*hang up, attach*
lát+ *II*	*conceal against body*
làwù+	*comb, preen, rake*
láwú+	*pick, pluck*
lè+	*go*
lé+	*touch*
lélé+	*be sweet*
lét+	*sleep*
lə̀k+	*rot, spoil, go rancid*
lə̀m+	*become night*
lə̀màs+	*fold up (layya in leather)*

Appendix 2: The Stems of Verb Class 2

lə́p+	*string beads; immerse*
lə́rə́+	*dump onto*
lə̀rwà+	*rub, spread on roughly*
lə́wá+	*plait hair temporarily*
lí+	*grow*
lìgə̀r+	*look after child*
lím+	*shrivel up, wilt*
lílím+	*itch*
lìmbə́r+	*II stick, paste onto*
lín+	*undress*
lìwèrì+	*glue*
lóló+	*shiver, tremble*
lòlòk+	*knock down from above*
lòngó+	*beseech*
lòt+	*II+III reach, stretch out for*
lòwó+	*pray God, request indulgence*
lú+	*hang up on*
lùlá+	*clean child after birth*
lùlù+	*pass or slip thru*
lún+	*plug up*
lús+	*break loose*
má+	*fetch, look for*
màirò+	*soar, glide* =màrù+
mánjíl+	*attach, bind tightly*
mát+	*pull strongly; scrunch*
màrù+	=màirò+
màwù+	*sell, publicize*
mázát+	*exercise body parts*
mbá+	*float, swim*
mbàr+/mbàrò+	*take out of pawn*
mbéjí	*exist*
mbə́l+	*struggle, wrestle*
mbə́lá+	*ambush, stalk*
mbə́k+	*uproot*
mbə̀s+	*rot, decay*
mbówó+/mówó+	*lack, fall short by*
mé+	=gá+
mə̀k+	*apply heat to body parts*
mə́mə́s+	*smile (of mouth)*
mə̀r+	*become humid*
mə́rmə́r+	*III fidget*
mə́t+	*mold with hands*
mìl+	*have telling effect on*
mìlmìlá+	*foam during fermentation*
mímí+	*whinny*
mìt+	*II stifle, suppress*
mòwòn+	*be possible*
mú+	*faint*
mùk+	*put handful in mouth*
mùngùnò+	*shrivel up*
mùnòk+	*II dent, bend in*
mùrjúk+	*wrinkle (of skin)*
ná+	*II reach, attain; catch*
nàk+	*fail, avert responsibility*
nàm+	*break*
nám+/náp+	*sit down*
nàná+	*II emphasize*
náná+/nánár+	*gnaw on*
nàwúr+	*gnaw on*
ndá+	*spoil, become stale*
ndák+/ndók+	*spin in fingers*
ndàl+	*steal*
ndə̀gàp+	*be gummy, sticky*
ndə́p+	*tie*
ndə̀rà+	*plait, braid*
ndók+	=ndák+
ndór+	*shout*
nə̀k+	*shake at well bottom*
ngà+	*growl, abuse, mistreat*
ngál+	*measure out*
ngàm+	*lose weight, reduce*
ngàr+	*burp*
ngát+	*milk, squeeze out*
ngə́k+	*hate, despise*
ngə̀lə́k+	*fuck*
ngə̀nə̀p+	*III go all out, try*
ngə̀rdí+	*pulverize, with pressure*
ngə̀rə́k+	*shift, sprain*
ngə̀rə́m+	=gárláp+ *gallop*
ngə̀rmə́s+	*break in, wear in*
ngə̀rná+	*strain, go all out to do*
ngə̀rsà+	*grow old (of plants)*
ngə̀rtá+	*cut with difficulty*
ngə́s+	*try, attempt*
ngə̀t+	*reach all way to bottom*
ngòdìngòs+	*sour, spoil*
ngù+	*bow down*
ngùdók+	*break off small piece of*
ngúl+	*hide, conceal*
ngùrngùr+	*roar*
ngúrngúr+	*crawl*
ngùrùmngùrùm+	*kneel down in respect*
ngùzá+	*flee, run away*
níní+	*observe carefully, keep eye on*
njàrmíl+	*cramp, gurgle (stomach)*
njès+	*forget*
njì+	*dislike*
njík+	*rip, tear off piece*
njíl+	*peel back to pop out*
njìlàk+	*sneak, walk stealthily*
njímál+	*pity*
njímít+	*blink*
njíp	*rot, spoil*
njìrə̀t+	*spray saliva thru teeth*
njís+	=cís+
njól+	*squat down*
njù+	*be suspicious of*
njúnó+	*pity*
njùwò+	*ruminate*
njùwùlàm+	*masticate*

Appendix 2: The Stems of Verb Class 2

nò+	*know*
núk+	*make a sound, utter a word*
núwá+	*swagger, strut*
nyè+	*grind*
nyét+	*be patient*
nyìmé+	*talk, chat*
nzàat+	*chew continuously*
nzàk+	*express disgust by ts-ts*
nzə́rák+	*start, make sudden move*
nzə́t+	*wring out*
nzók+	*pick, chip off*
nzòt+	*kiss*
nzù+	*loathe, hate*
nzùnnzùn+	*suck on* =súsún+
ràbì+	*nurse, cater to*
rák+	*be able to, can*
ràn+	*overpower*
ràp+	*grind on grindstone*
ráp+	*slap with open hand*
rárá+	*overprice*
ràràk+	*pack, tamp down*
ràràm+	*settle to bottom of liquid*
ràt+	*push down on*
ràzà+ *II*	*lean lightly against*
ré+	*split, halve*
rə̀gán+	*nurse and cater to*
rə̀k+	*tie up 2-sided load*
rə́k+	*flex, tighten III grunt*
rə̀mə̀k+	*feign sleep*
rə̀p+	*bury*
rə́p+ *II*	*reach, go as far as*
rə̀wə̀s+	*moisten, soften dyed gown*
rí+	*fear*
rís+ *II*	*make fun of, mock*
rù+	*scorn, despise, look down on*
rú+	*stack up*
rùrù+ *III*	*be in doubt*
rútúrú+	*stack, pile up*
rúwárúwá+	*cover protectively*
sà+	*begin for first time*
sàa+	*weave*
sàap+	*settle argument*
sàk+	*leak, filter, drip*
sál+	*chop*
sàllò+	*cross (legs) together*
sàm+	*distribute, hand out*
sám+	*rub, smear on*
sàmbà+	*excuse, forgive*
sàmbìt+	*hit, slap open-handed*
sàn+	*tease, pull apart (cotton)*
sáná+	*make level, even*
sàp+	*reach into, pick (pocket)*
sáp+	*collect, gather up*
sàr+/sàrè+	*line up, order*
sár+	*massage (head)*
sárít+/sàrít+	*hit backhandedly*
sàrwàl+	*cross legs at ankles*
sàsà+	*calm down (child)*
sàsàl+	*fasten shut, chain*
sàwì+	*settle, unravel, clarify*
sàyá+	*wash away, erode*
sàyét+	*shake out (dust)*
sèyè+	*breathe heavily, pant*
sə́gə́lə̀k+	*be unhappy, upset (heart)*
sə̀gə́p+	*shift load on back*
sə̀gə̀rì+	*move to side, edge*
sə́l+	*sack, fire, depose*
sə́llá+	*sharpen* =shárák+
sə̀mbà+	*become weak*
sə̀n+	*open ajar*
sə́ngét+	*hold, suck in (stomach)*
sə́ngít+	*whimper, whine, sob*
sə̀p+	*slide under, shovel up*
sə́p+	*lower, bring down, drop (load)*
sə̀r+	*step aside, back off*
sə́r+	*sift, clean by sifting*
sə̀rə́t+	*stroll, walk along*
sə̀rə̀p+	*sip (hot drink)*
sə̀rìn+	*sniff into nose*
sə̀rsə̀rá+	*shine*
sə́wét+/sə́wə́t+	*sort by shaking*
sə̀wút+	*dismantle*
shàl+	*sharpen to point; clear debt*
shárák+	=sə́llá+
shík+	*scrape off, grate*
shìl+	*peel, skin, scrape*
shíl+	*hit hard*
shìmò+	*guide*
shír+	*cut to strips with fingernail*
shìrá+	*wilt (from heat)*
shìshì+	*inquire about, snoop into*
shíshík+	*peel (usu bark of tree)*
síyét+	*brush, whisk, swish*
sìyìn+	*think about, reflect*
sò+	*be still damp, not dried*
sòm+	*recall, enumerate*
sòsò+	*heat and dry over coals*
sótá+	*receive, give hospitality to*
sówór+	*turn around, rotate*
sú+	*stiffen, become rigid*
sùk+	*drive, chase away; poke sides*
súk+	*pierce, penetrate*
sùlìn+	*squeeze and slide back*
sùlìt+	*slip*
sùn+	*beg for food*
sùngòi+	*sneer*
súp+	*tip over, leave in spilling position*
súrút+ *II*	*loop around and tie slip knot*

Appendix 2: The Stems of Verb Class 2

sùrwá+	*scald, blister*
sùsù+	*search for, forage*
sút+ *II+III*	*push o.s. up off of*
súwál+	*set broken bone*
súwúr+	*partially knock down*
tàas+	*interrupt, disturb*
tài+	*make first price offer*
tàk+	*recall, remember*
tàkùkúl+	*tickle*
tàlá+	*empty out, pull out*
tàl+	*stumble, trip, make mistake*
tàm+	*reach out, stretch for* =càm+
tàmbár+	*roll*
tàmtàm+	*amuse*
tàn+ *III*	*stretch o.s. after sleep*
tàngár+	*sort by shaking and tipping*
tántán+	*give a cold to*
tàp+	*make ink by grinding charcoal*
táp+	*pour down*
tàr+	*spread out, lay out*
tár+	*scatter, disperse*
tárá+	*knock down by throwing, shooting*
tàt+	*rise, climb*
tátáp+	*gossip by whispering*
tàwə̀rà+	*provide*
tàwàs+	*plait, braid*
tə̀gás+	*pound (yams) lightly in mortar*
tə́gə́r+	*borrow (money)*
tə̀k+	*lower (head)*
tə́l+	*burst, pop (pimple, boil)*
tə́lák+ *II*	*let fall in drops, force feed*
tə̀m+	*touch off*
tə́m+	*turn over upside down, cover*
tə̀mbə̀t+	*grab from, snatch violently*
tə̀ndə̀k+	*grind/pound 2nd time into flour*
tə̀ngà+ *II*	*lean against something else*
tə̀ngák+	*doze off*
tə̀ngə̀m+	*hobble animal while leading it*
tə́ngə̀rə́s+	*limp*
tə̀ràm+	*rip off leaves of branch*
tə́rát+	*clean out by scraping bottom*
tə̀rètə̀rè+	*look lost, hover*
tə̀rə́l+	*squeeze down and remove from surface*
tə̀rə̀p+	*jump, hop, hobble along*
tə́rə́p+	*trim ends of; slander*
tə̀rə̀t+	*rip from around neck*
tə́rmás+ *II*	*massage limb*
tə́rmə́s+	*leap upon and attack*
tə̀rná+	*rub out, wipe out, destroy*
tə̀rwá+	*talk incoherently*
tə̀rwú+	*tangle, mess up*
tə́s+ *II*	*stoke, start fire*
tí+	*obey*
tìn+	*blow nose*
títír+	*urinate standing*
tòl+	*drip, leak*
tótól+	*blister*
tsə́n+	*nurture back to health*
tú+	*set up umbrella, net, trap*
túl+	*wash*
tùs+	*rest*
tús+	*pound lightly in mortar*
tùská+	*mix, combine*
tùt+	*stop up, stuff*
wà+	*pass the night*
wá+	*dislike*
wàiwàiyá+	*hurt, throb*
wál+	*become III return*
wám+	*boast, brag*
wámgá+	*take, pull apart*
wándá+	*take, pull apart*
wàr+	*snatch, seize, grab*
wár+	*burn, roast, sting*
wàrìt+	*snatch away*
wàs+	*turn on, ignite, light*
wás+	*pound to get grain off head*
wásám+	*yawn*
wát+	*scorch, singe*
wàwàk+	*luck into*
wàwùr+	*announce, publicize*
wí+	*loosen, untie, release*
wóp+	*flip over, defeat, surprise*
wòrmà+	*announce, publicize*
wú+	*look at*
wùfá+	*boil, blanch*
wùfè+	*pant, wheeze*
wùlák+	*flash*
wùl+	*bruise*
wùlwùlá+	*shine, reflect*
wúm+	*water (of mouth)*
wùmbàt+	*scorch partially by fire*
wúp+	*gulp, take mouthful of*
wùràl+	*rinse out*
wùr+	*knock down*
wùráp+	*beat severly, strike down*
wùrìt+	*swoop down and snatch away*
wùs+	*bring camel to its knees*
wùsà+	*scold*
wùyít+	*singe and scrape off hair*
yáa+	*fear unnecessarily*
yàal+	*yelp*
yái+	*clean out inside of calabash*
yàk+	*divide, split up*
yàlú+	*howl (of hyena)*
yàmyàmá+	*run around in panic search*
yàr+	*give money to girl's father proposing*
yàrá+	*rinse out, remove soap*
yàrù+	*redeem, ransom*
yé+	*sing*

yèkìn+	*check up on, find out about*
yél+	*clap, knock, bang together*
yèn+	*fish, scoop out*
yén+	*stretch*
yér+	*defecate, have diarrhea*
yés+	*deviate, change course*
yèsàk+	*castrate*
yì+	*dissolve, perish*
yíl+	*yell, shout at*
yìlàlà+	*partially satisfy e.g. thirst*
yílé+ *III*	*flirt, show off*
yílló+ *III*	*jump up and down in excitement*
yìm+/yím+	*soak thru, filter thru*
yìn+	*breathe*
yín+	*smell, sniff*
yíp+	*stack, line up*
yìndà+	*long to see, miss*
yír+	*throw out, away*
yók+	*drive, herd*
yóló+	*amuse (child) bouncing on lap*
yòyò+	*confuse, overwhelm*
yúlók+	*gag, vomit, choke up*
zá+	*tap, beat, spear*
zàat+	*redig well, retap*
zàk+	*close, shut*
zák+/zázák+	*flatter, be proud of s.o.*
zàlàlà+	*cool by pouring back and forth*
zàm+	*attack (of an illness)*
zàmzàm+ *II*	*drip out onto, tap out*
záp+	*scoop up, redig dried well*
zàwù+/zòwò+	*decorate by burning*
záyé+	*decorate, dress up*
zázám+	*dampen shaking water from hand*
zə́gə́rə́n+	*wait expectantly*
zə̀gì+	*tilt, bend, angle*
zə̀k+	*grate, scrape; shake*
zə́k+	*annoy, instigate, provoke*
zə̀m+	*hum, groan*
zə̀mə̀r+ *II*	*insert quickly*
zə́n+	*pull, slide out, take out*
zə̀p+	*come down, descend*
zə̀rə̀n+	*unravel, undo*
zə̀rə́n+	*pull out, jerk out*
zə̀rwùt+	*shake out*
zə́zə́r+	*sprinkle, broadcast*
zògzòg+	*jog, run slowly, trot*
zòrù+	*vomit, throw up*
zòwór+	*carry sth swinging in hand*
zú+	*push*
zùr+	*shovel up; skid*
zúr+	*lightly repound grain in mortar*
zús+	*vomit, throw up*
zùwà+	*send*

	imperfect	*future*	*neg. fut.*	*perfect*	*past*	*VEC*	*NEC*	*neg. comp.*	*conj.*	*impera.*
	bù+ *eat*									
1S	búkìn	jíwúkò	jíwúkə̀nyí	búkə́nà	jíwúkò	búkí	búkò	búkə̀nyí	búkè	
2S	búmìn	jíwùm	jíwùmmí	búmmà	jíwùm	búmí	bûm	bûmí	bûm	búi
3S	zə́wìn	jíwò	jíwùnnyí	zə́wúnà	jíwò	zə́wí	zə́wò	zə́wùnyí	zə́wù	
1P	búiyèn	jíwùiyè	jíwúiyèndé	búiyénà	jíwùiyè	búiyéi	búiyè	búiyèndé	búiyè	búiyè
2P	búwì	jíwùw	jíwùwí	búwà	jíwùw	búwí	bûw	bûwí	bûw	búiyówó
3P	záwìn	jáwò	jáwùnnyí	záwúnà	jáwò	záwí	záwò	záwùnyí	záwù	búiwó
	dí+ *do*									
1S	díkìn	cìdə́kò	cìdə́kə̀nyí	díkə́nà	cìdə́kò	díkí	díkò	díkə̀nyí	díkè	
2S	dímìn	cìdə̂m	cìdə̂mmí	dímmà	cìdə̂m	dímí	dîm	dîmmí	dîm	dé
3S	sə̀dîn	cìdô	cìdə̂nnyí	sə̀də́nà	cìdô	sə̀dí	sə̀dô	sə̀də̂nyí	sə̀də̂	
1P	díyèn	cìdíyè	cìdíyèndé	díyénà	cìdíyè	díyéi	díyè	díyèndé	díyè	díyè
2P	díwì	cìdûw	cìdûwí	díuwà	cìdûw	díwí	dîu	dîwí	dîu	díyówó
3P	sàdîn	càdô	càdə̂nnyí	sàdə́nà	càdô	sàdí	sàdô	sàdə̂nyí	sàdə̂	déwó
	gàá+ *enter*									
1S	gàákìn	càrgàákò	càrgàákə̀nyí	gàákə́nà	kàrgàákò	gàákí	gàákò	gàákə̀nyí	gàákè	
2S	gàámìn	càrgàâm	càrgàâmmí	gàámmà	kàrgàâm	gàámí	gàâm	gàâmí	gàâm	gàyé
3S	gàyîn	càrgàwô	càrgàânnyí	gàgə́nà	kàrgàwô	gàyí	gàwô	gàgə̂nyí	gàgə̂	
1P	gàyíyèn	càrgàyíyè	càrgàyíyèndé	gàyíyénà	kàrgàyíyè	gàyíyéi	gàyíyè	gàyíyèndé	gàyíyè	gàyíyè
2P	gàáwì	càrgàwûw	càrgàwûwí	gàwúwà	kàrgàwû	gàáwí	gàâu	gàâwí	gàâu	gàíyówó
3P	gàgàyîn	càshàrgàwô	càshàrgàânyí	gàgàgə́nà	kàshàrgàwô	gàgáyí	gàgàwô	gàgàgə̂nyí	gàgàwô	gàwó
	ís+ *come*									
1S	ísə̀kìn	cádùkò	cádúkə̀nyí	ísə́kə́nà	kádíkò	ísə́kí	ísə̀kò	ísə́kə̀nyí	ísə́kè	
2S	ísə̀mìn	cádə̀m	cádə̀mmí	ísə́mmà	kádìm	ísə́mí	ísə̀m	ísə̀mí	ísə̀m	àré
3S	íshìn	cádìo	cádə̀nnyí	ísə́nà	kádìo	íshí	ísò	ísə̀nyí	ísə̀	
1P	íshìyèn	cáshìyè	cáshíyèndé	íshíyénà	káshìyè	íshíyéi	íshìyè	íshíyèndé	íshìyè	íshìyè
2P	ísùwì	cádùw	cádùwí	ísúwà	kádìu	ísúwí	ísùw	ísùwí	ísùw	íshíyówó
3P	ísài	céshù	céshùnnyí	ísánà	káshò	ísái	ísà	ísànyí	ísà	àrówó
	yí+ *give*									
1S	yíkìn	cókò	cákə̀nyí	yíkə́nà	cókò	yíkí	yíkò	yíkə̀nyí	yíkè	
2S	yímìn	câm	câmmí	yímmà	câm	yímí	yîm	yîmí	yîm	yé
3S	cîn	câinò	cânnyí	cínà	câinò	cí	cô	cînyí	cə̂	
1P	yíyèn	câiyè	cáiyèndé	yíyíenà	câiyè	yíyéi	yíyè	yíyèndé	yíyè	yíyè
2P	yíwì	câu	câuwí	yíuwà	câu	yíwí	yîu	yîuwí	yîu	yíyówó
3P	sádìn	cádò	cádə̀nnyí	sádə́nà	cádò	sádí	sádò	sádə̀nyí	sádə̀	yówó

Appendix 3: Aspect Paradigms for Basic Forms of Class 1 Verbs

	imperfect	*future*	*neg. fut.*	*perfect*	*past*	*VEC*	*NEC*	*neg. comp.*	*conj.*	*impera.*
	yèz+ *kill*									
1S	yèzə́kìn	cèjíkò	cèjíkə̀nyí	yèzə́kə́nà	cèjíkò	yèzə́kí	yèzə́kò	yèzə́kə̀nyí	yèzə́kè	
2S	yèzə́mìn	cèjîm	cèjîmmí	yèzə́mmà	cèjîm	yèzə́mí	yèzə̂m	yèzə̂mí	yèzə̂m	yèjé
3S	cèjîn	cèjō	cèfînnyí	cèzə̄na	cèjō	cèjí	cèzō	cèzə̄nyí	cèzə̄	
1P	yèjíyèn	cèjíyè	cèjíyèndé	yèjíyēnà	cèjíyè	yèjíyéi	yèjíyè	yèjíyèndé	yèjíyè	yèjíyé
2P	yèzúwì	cèjûw	cèjûwí	yèzúwà	cèjûw	yèzúwí	yèzûw	yèzûwí	yèzûw	yèjíyówó
3P	cèshènîn	cèshènō	cèshènə̄nnyí	cèshènə́nà	cèshènō	cèshèní	cèshònō	cèshènə̄nyí	cèshènə̄	yèzówó
	jér+ *tie, bind*									
1S	jérə̀kìn	cìryérə́kò	cìryérə́kə̀nyí	jérə́kə́nà	cìryérə̀kò	jérə́kí	jérə̀kò	jérə́kə̀nyí	jérə̀kè	
2S	jérə̀mìn	cìryérə̀m	cìryérə̀mmí	jérə́mmà	cìryérə̀m	jérə́mí	jérə̀m	jérə̀mí	jérə̀m	jéré
3S	sə̀ryérìn	cìryérò	cìryérə̀nnyí	sə̀ryérə́nà	cìryérò	sə̀ryérí	sə̀ryérò	sə̀ryérə̀nyí	sə̀ryérə̀	
1P	jérìyèn	cìryérìyè	cìryéríyèndé	jéríyénà	cìryérìyè	jéríyeí	jérìyè	jéríyèndé	jérìyè	jéríyé
2P	jérùwì	cìryérùw	cìryérùwí	jérúwà	cìryérùw	jérúwí	jérùw	jérùwí	jérùw	jéríyówó
3P	sàryérìn	càryérò	càryérə̀nnyí	sàryérə́nà	càryérò	sàryérí	sàryérò	sàryérə̀nyí	sàryérə̀	jérówó
	yàs+ *repair*									
1S	yàsákìn	càsákò	càsákə̀nyí	yàsákə́nà	càsákò	yàsákí	yàsákò	yàsákə̀nyí	yàsákè	
2S	yàsámìn	càsâm	càsâmmí	yàsámmà	càsâm	yàsámí	yàsâm	yàsâmí	yàsâm	yàsái
3S	sàsâi	càsâ	càsânnyí	sàsánà	càsá	sàsái	sàsâ	sàsânyí	sàsâ	
1P	yàsáiyèn	càsáiyè	càsáiyèndé	yàsáiyénà	càsáiyè	yàsáiyé	yàsáiyè	yàsáiyèndé	yàsáiyè	yàsáiyé
2P	yàsáwì	càsâu	càsâuwí	yàsáuwà	càsâu	yàsáwí	yàsâu	yàsâuwí	yàsâu	yàsáiyówó
3P	sàasâi	càasâ	càsádònnyí	sàasánà	càasâ	sàasái	sàasâ	sàasânyí	sàasâ	yàsáiwó
	yá+ *drink*									
1S	yákìn	cákò	cákə̀nyí	yákə́nà	cákò	yákí	yákò	yákə̀nyí	yákè	
2S	yámìn	câm	câmmí	yámmà	câm	yámí	yâm	yâmí	yâm	yái
3S	sâi	câ	cânnyí	sánà	câ	sái	sâ	sânyí	sâ	
1P	yáiyèn	câiyè	cáiyèndé	yáiyénà	câiyè	yáiyéi	yáiyè	yáiyèndé	yáiyè	yáiyé
2P	yáwì	cân	câuwí	yáuwà	câu	yáwí	yâu	yâuwí	yâu	yáiyówó
3P	sásài	cásà	cáshànnyí	sásánà	cásà	sásái	sásà	sásànyí	sásà	yáiwó
	bàf+ *ripen*									
1S	bàfúkìn	càrwàfúkò	càrwàfúkə̀nyí	bàfúkə́nà	kàrwàfúkò	bàfúkí	bàfúkò	bàfúkə̀nyí	bàfúkè	
2S	bàfúmìn	càrwàfûm	càrwàfûmmí	bàfúmmà	kàrwàfûm	bàfúmí	bàfûm	bàfûmí	bàfûm	bàfé
3S	bàfîn	càrwàfō	càrwàfûnnyí	bàfúnà	kàrwàfō	bàfí	bàfō	bàfûnyí	bàfû	
1P	bàfíyèn	càrwàfíyè	càrwàfíyèndé	bàfíyénà	kàrwàfíyè	bàfíyeí	bàfíyè	bàfíyèndé	bàfíyè	bàfíyè
2P	bàfúwì	càrwàfûw	càrwàfûwí	bàfúwà	kàrwàfûw	bàfúwí	bàfûw	bàfûwí	bàfûw	bàfíyówó
3P	bàwàfîn	càshàrwàfō	càshàrwàfônnyí	bàwàfúnà	kàshàrwàfō	bàwàfí	bàwàfō	bàwàfûnyí	bàwàfû	bàfúiwó

	imperfect	*future*	*neg. fut.*	*perfect*	*past*	*VEC*	*NEC*	*neg. comp.*	*conj.*	*impera.*
	lè+ *go*									
1S	lěngîn	lèjókò	lèjákənyí	lèngə́nà	lèwókò	lèngí	lèngô	lèngənyí	lèngê	
2S	lènə́mìn	lèjâm	lèjâmmí	lènə́mmà	lèyâm	lènə́mí	lènə̂m	lènə̂mí	lènə̂m	lèné
3S	lèjîn	lèjónò	lèjânnyí	lèzə́nà	lèwónò	lèjí	lèzô	lèzênyí	lèzə̂	
1P	lènyên	lèjáiyè	lèjáiyèndé	lènyéná	lèyáiyè	lènyéi	lènyê	lènyêndé	lènyê	lènyê
2P	lènúwì	lèjâu	lèjâuwí	lènúwà	lèyâu	lènúwí	lènûw	lènûwí	lènûw	lènyówó
3P	lèzâi	lèjádà	lèjádànnyí	lèzánà	lèyádà	lèzái	lèzâ	lèzânyí	lèzâ	lènówó
	fàl+ *change*									
1S	fǎlngîn	fàljókò	fàljákənyí	fàlngə́nà	fàlwókò	fàlngí	fàlngô	fàlngənyí	fàlngê	
2S	fàllə́mìn	fàljâm	fàljâmmí	fàllə́mma	fàlgâm	fàllə́mí	fàllə̂m	fàllə̂mí	fàllə̂m	fàllé
3S	fàljîn	fàljónò	fàljânnyí	fàlzə́nà	fàlwónò	fàljí	fàlzô	fàlzənyí	fàlzə̂	
1P	fàlnyên	fàljáiyè	fàljáiyèndé	fàlnyénà	fàlgáiyè	fàlnyéi	fàlnyê	fàlnyêndé	fàlnyê	fàlnyê
2P	fàllúwì	fàljân	fàljâuwí	fàllúwà	fàlgâu	fàllúwí	fàllûw	fàllûwí	fàllûw	fàlnyówó
3P	fàlzâi	fàljádà	fàljânnyí	fàlzánà	fàlgádà	fàlzái	fàlzâ	fàlzânyí	fàlzâ	fàllówó
	bák+ **beat**									
1S	bânggìn	bákcòkò	bákcàkənyí	bánggə́nà	bákkòkò	bánggí	bânggò	bânggənyí	bânggè	
2S	bángnə̀mìn	bákcàm	bákcàmmí	bángnə́mmà	bákkàm	bángnə́mí	bángnə̀m	bángnə̀mí	bángnə̀m	bángné
3S	bákcìn	bákcònò	bákcànnyí	báksə́nà	bákkònò	bákcí	báksò	báksənyí	báksə̀	
1P	bânggnyèn	bákcàiyè	bákcàiyèndé	bángnyénà	bákkàiyè	bángnyéi	bângnyè	bângnyèndé	bángnyè	bángnyê
2P	bángnùwì	bákcàn	bákcàuwí	bángnúwà	bákkàn	bángnúwí	bángnùw	bángnùwí	bángnùw	bángnyówó
3P	báksài	bákcàdà	bákcàdànnyí	báksə́nà	bákkàdà	báksái	báksà	báksànyí	báksà	bángnówó
	lét+ *sleep*									
1S	lênngìn	létcòkò	létcàkənyí	lénngnə́rà	létkòkò	lénngí	lênngò	lênngənyí	lênngè	
2S	lénnə̀mìn	létcàm	létcàmmí	lénnə́mmà	létkàm	lénnə́mí	lénnə̀m	lénnə̀mí	lénnə̀m	lénné
3S	létcìn	létcònò	létcànnyí	létsə́nà	létkònò	létcí	létsò	létsənyí	létsə̀	
1P	lênnyèn	létcàiyè	létcàiyèndé	lénnyénà	létkàiyè	lénnyéi	lênnyè	lénnyèndé	lénnyè	lénnyê
2P	lénnùwì	létcàn	létcàuwí	lénnúwà	létkàn	lénnúwí	lénnùw	létsànyí	lénnùw	lénnyówó
3P	létsài	létcàdà	létcàdànnyí	létsánà	létkàdà	létsái	létsá		létsà	lénnówó
	tùs+ *rest, spend time*									
1S	tùsə̌ngîn	tùsshókò	tùsshákənyí	tùsə̌ngə́nà	tùskókò	tùsə̌ngí	tùsə̌ngò	tùsəngənyí	tùsə̌ngè	
2S	tùsə̀nə́mìn	tùsshâm	tùsshâmmí	tùsə̀nə́mmà	tùskâm	tùsə̀nə́mmí	tùsə̀nə́m	tùsə̀nə̂mí	tùsə̀nə̂m	tùssə̀né
3S	tùsshîn	tùsshónò	tùsshânnyí	tùssə́nà	tùskónò	tùsshí	tùssô	tùssənyí	tùssə̂	
1P	tùsə̀nyên	tùssháiyè	tùssháiyèndé	tùsə̀nyénà	tùskâiyè	tùsə̀nyéi	tùsə̀nyê	tùsə̀nyêndé	tùsə̀nyê	tùssə̀nyê
2P	tùsə̀núwì	tùsshâu	tùsshâuwí	tùsə̀núwà	tùskâu	tùsə̀núwí	tùsə̀nûw	tùsə̀nûwí	tùsə̀nûw	tùssə̀nyówó
3P	tùssâi	tùsshádà	tùsshádànnyí	tùssánà	tùskádà	tùssái	tùssâ	tùssânyí	tùssâ	tùssə̀nówó

Appendix 4: Aspect Paradigms of Class 1/2 Verbs with Affixed Objects

On the basis of the three aspect paradigms presented here together with all of the aspect paradigms presented in appendix 3, it will be possible for the reader to construct these affixed object paradigms for those verb aspects not presented here.

subj /obj	*imperfect*	*past/ future*	*VEC*	*imperfect*	*past/ future*	*VEC*
	kór+ *ask(cl 1)*			bák+ *beat, hit(cl 2)*		
1S/2S	nzúwórə̀kìn	njúwórə̀kò	nzúwórə́kí	bângnzə̀kìn	bânggòkò	bángnzə́kí
1S/2P	nzówórə̀kìn	njówórə̀kò	nzówórə́kí	bângnzàkìn	bânggàdàkò	bángnzákí
2S/1S	súwórə̀mìn	shúwórə̀m	súwórə́mí	bâksə̀mìn	bâkkàm	báksə́mí
2S/1P	sówórə̀mìn	shówórə̀m	sówórə́mí	bâksàmìn	bâkkàdàm	báksámí
3S/1S	súwórìn	shúwórò	súwórí	bâkshìn	bâkkònò	bákshí
3S/2S	nzúwórìn	njúwórò	nzúwórí	bângnjìn	bânggònò	bángnjí
3S/1P	sówórìn	shówórò	sówórí	bâksài	bâkkàdà	báksái
3S/2P	nzówórìn	njówórò	nzówórí	bângnzài	bânggàdà	bángnzái
1P/2S	nzúwórìyèn	njúwórìyè	nzúwóríyéi	bângnjìyèn	bânggàiyè	bángnjíyéi
1P/2P	nzówórìyèn	njórórìyè	nzówóríyéi	bângnzàiyèn	bânggàiyè	bángnzáiyéi
2P/1S	súwórùwì	shúwúrùw	súwórúwí	bâksùwì	bâkkàu	báksúwí
2P/1P	sówórùwì	shówórùw	sówórúwí	bâksàwì	bâkkàdàu	báksáwí
3P/1S	sówórìn	shówórò	sówórí	bâksài	bâkkàdà	báksái
3P/2S	nzówórìn	njówórò	nzówórí	bângnzài	bânggàdà	bángnzái
3P/1P	sówórìn	shówórò	sówórí	bâksài	bâkkàdà	báksái
3P/2P	nzówórìn	njówórò	nzówórí	bângnzài	bânggàdà	bángnzái
	tà+ *grab, seize(cl 1)*			lé+ *touch(cl 2)*		
1S/2S	nzə́tákìn	njítákò	nzə́tákí	lênzə̀kìn	lêngòkò	lénzə́kí
1S/2P	nzátákìn	njátákò	nzátákí	lênzàkìn	lèngàdàkò	lénzákí
2S/1S	sə́támìn	shítàm	sə́támí	lêsə̀mìn	lêskàm	lésə́mí
2S/1P	sátámìn	shátàm	sátámí	lêsàmìn	lêskàdàm	lésámí
3S/1S	sə́tài	shítà	sə́tái	lêshìn	lêskònò	léshí
3S/2S	nzə́tài	njítà	nzə́tái	lênjìn	lêngònò	lénjí
3S/1P	sátài	shátà	sátái	lêsài	lêskàdà	lésái
3S/2P	nzátài	njátà	nzátái	lênzài	lêngàdà	lénzái
1P/2S	nzə́tàiyèn	njítàiyè	nzə́táiyéi	lênjèn	lêngàiyè	lénjéi
1P/2P	nzátàiyèn	njátàiyè	nzátáiyéi	lênzàiyèn	lêngàiyè	lénzáiyéi
2P/1S	sə́táwì	shítàu	sə́táwí	lêsùwì	lêskàu	lésúwí
2P/1P	sátáwì	shátàu	sátáwí	lêsàwì	lêskàdàu	lésáwí
3P/1S	sátài	shátà	sátái	lêsài	lêskàdà	lésái
3P/2S	nzátài	njátà	nzátái	lênzài	lêngàdà	lénzái
3P/1P	sátài	shátà	sátái	lêsài	lêskàdà	lésái
3P/2P	nzátài	njátà	nzátái	lênzài	lêngàdà	lénzái

	imperfect	*conjunctive*	*past/ future*	*perfect*	*VEC*	*NEC*
	yìrdí+ *make do(cl 1)*					
1S	yìrdə́kìn	yìrdə́kè	cìrdə́kò	yìrdə́kə́nà	yìrdə́kí	yìrdə́kò
2S	yìrdə́mìn	yìrdə̂m	cìrdə̂m	yìrdə́mmà	yìrdə́mí	yìrdə̂m
3S	sərdîn	sərdə̂	sə̀/cìrdō	sərdə́nà	sərdí	sərdô
1P	yìrdíyèn	yìrdíyè	cìrdê	yìrdíyénà	yìrdíyéi	yìrdíyè
2P	yìrúwì	yìrdûw	cìrdûw	yìrdúwà	yìrdúwí	yìrdûw
3P	sàrdîn	sàrdə̂	càrdô	sàrdə́nà	sàrdí	sàrdô
	yìkkə́lì+ *make learn, teach(cl 1)*					
1S	yìkkə́lìkìn	yìkkə́lìkè	cìkkə́lə́kò	yìkkə́lìkə́nà	yìkkə́líkí	yìkkə́lə́kò
2S	yìkkə́lìmìn	yìkkə́lìm	cìkkə́lə̀m	yìkkə́límmà	yìkkə́límí	yìkkə́lə̀m
3S	sə̀kkə́lìn	sə̀kkə́lə̀	sə̀/cìkkə́lò	sə̀kkə́línà	sə̀kkə́lí	sə̀kkə́lò
1P	yìkkə́lìyèn	yìkkə́lìyè	cìkkə́lìyè	yìkkə́lìyénà	yìkkə́líyéi	yìkkə́lìyè
2P	yìkkə́lùwì	yìkkə́lùw	cìkkə́lùw	yìkkə́lúwà	yìkkə́lúwí	yìkkə́lùw
3P	sàkkə́lìn	sàkkə́lə̀	s/càkkə́lò	sàkkə́línà	sàkkə́lí	sàkkə́lò
	bák+ *beat in, pound into(cl 2)*					
1S	bákkə̀kìn	bákkə̀kè	bákcìwòkò	bákkə́kə́nà	bákkə́kí	bákkə̀kò
2S	bákkə̀mìn	bákkə̀m	bákcìyàm	bákkə́mmà	bákkə́mí	bákkə̀m
3S	báksə̀gìn	báksə̀gə̀	bákcìwò	báksə́gə́nà	báksə́gí	báksùwò
1P	bákkə̀iyèn	bákkə̀iyè	bákcìgə̀iyè	bákkə́iyénà	bákkə́iyéi	bákkə̀iyè
2P	bákkùwì	bákkùw	bákcìwùw	bákkúwà	bákkúwí	bákkùw
3P	báksààì	báksàà	bákcàà	báksáanà	báksáái	báksàà
	wú+ *watch out for, expect(cl 2)*					
1S	wúgə̀kìn	wúgə̀kè	wújìwòkò	wúgə́kə́nà	wúgə́kí	wúgə̀kò
2S	wúgə̀mìn	wúgə̀m	wújìyàm	wúgə́mmà	wúgə́mí	wúgə̀m
3S	wúzə̀gìn	wúzə̀gə̀	wújìwò	wúzə́gə́nà	wúzə́gí	wúzùwò
1P	wúgə̀iyèn	wúgə̀iye	wújìgə̀iyè	wúgə́iyénà	wúgə́iyéi	wúgə̀iyè
2P	wúwùwì	wúwùw	wújìwùw	wúwúwà	wúwúwí	wúwùw
3P	wúzààì	wúzàà	wújàà	wúzáanà	wúzáái	wúzàà

	imperfect	*conjunctive*	*past*	*future*	*perfect*	*VEC*
	tà+ *be grabbed, grab o.s.(cl 1)*					
1S	tə́tákìn	tə́tàkè	kátə́tákò	tátə́tákò	tə́tákə́nà	tə́táki ́
2S	tə́támìn	tə́tàm	kátə́tàm	tátə́tàm	tə́támmà	tə́támí
3S	tə́tài	tə́tà	kátə́tà	tátə́tà	tə́tánà	tə́tái
1P	tə́táyíyèn	tə́táyíyè	kátə́tàyìyè	tátə́tàyìyè	tə́táyíyénà	tə́táyíyéi
2P	tə́táwì	tə́tàu	kátə́tàu	tátə́tàu	tə́táwà	tə́táwí
3P	tátài	tátà	kátàà	tátə́tà	tátánà	tátái
	rú+ *be seen, see o.s., see one another(cl 1)*					
1S	túrúkìn	túrúkè	kátúrúkò	tátúrúkò	túrúkə́nà	túrúkí
2S	túrúmìn	túrûm	kátúrùm	tátúrùm	túrúmmà	túrúmí
3S	túrìn	túrù	kátúrò	tátúrò	túrúnà	túrí
1P	túrùiyèn	túrùiyè	kátúrùiyè	tátúrùiyè	túrúiyénà	túrúiyéi
2P	túrúwì	túrûw	kátúrùw	tátúrùw	túrúwà	túrúwí
3P	tórìn	tórù	kátórò	tátúrò	tórúnà	tórí
	bák+ *beat o.s., hit o.s., be beaten, be hit(cl 2)*					
1S	báktə̀kìn	báktə̀kè	bákkàtə̀kò	báktàtə̀kò	báktə́kə́nà	báktə́kí
2S	báktə̀mìn	báktə̀m	bákkàtə̀m	báktàtə̀m	báktə́mmà	báktə́mí
3S	báktìn	báktə̀	bákkàtə̀	báktàtə̀	báktə́nà	báktí
1P	báktìyèn	báktìyè	bákkàtìyè	báktàtìyè	báktíyénà	báktíyéi
2P	báktùwì	báktùw	bákkàtùw	báktàtùw	báktúwà	báktúwí
3P	báktài	báktà	bákkàtà	báktàtà	báktánà	báktái
	wú+ *look at o.s., be looked at(cl 2)*					
1S	wútə̀kìn	wútə̀kè	wúwàtə̀kò	wútàtə̀kò	wútə́kə́nà	wútə́kí
2S	wútə̀mìn	wútə̀m	wúwà	wútàtə̀m	wútə́mmà	wútə́mí
3S	wútìn	wútə̀	wúwàtə̀	wútàtə̀	wútə́nà	wútí
1P	wútìyèn	wútìyè	wúwàtìyè	wútàtìyè	wútíyénà	wútíyéi
2P	wútùwì	wútùw	wúwàtùw	wútàtùw	wútúwà	wútúwí
3P	wútài	wútà	wúwàtà	wútàtà	wútánà	wútái

Appendix 7: Specific Adverbs (Ideophones)

báa	*of belching*
bál	*of rain lying in puddles*
bám	*of large house, fat person sitting idly*
bándál	*of large quantity of standing water*
báng	*of sudden opening of something (=* **bə́ráng***)*
bár	*of trembling of body/ of loud belch*
bàyàbàyà	*of time just before dawn*
bə́k, búk	*of hitting e.g. with cane*
bə́ktə́r	*of falling down boom*
bə́l	*of water gushing out*
bə́ljə́m	*of something completely filled with water (=* **gə́ljə́m***); of large object splashing into water (=* **gə́jə́m***)*
bə́m	*of beating a drum; of swollen stomach*
bə́ng	*of short heavy person*
bə́r	*of throwing carelessly*
bə́rál	*of falling down on hard surface*
bə́ráng	*see* **báng**
bə́rdə́k	*of scattered piled quantities*
bə́rə́b	*of fruit fallen around fruit tree*
bə́rə́t	*of falling down simultanesouly; of large quantity of objects spread on ground; of animals lying all around*
bə́rzə́k	*of rash breaking out on body*
bə́t	*of something falling suddenly from above (=* **bə́zə́k***)*
bə́zə́k	*see* **bə́t**
bím	*see* **bə́m**
bók	*of something dropping into a container*
bókókór	*of short solid woman*
bókúkúl	*of small head*
bóngóngól	*of large head*
búm	*of loud shot-like sound*
bùsàà, bùsàsàà	*of one having much hair in disarray*
búu	*of sudden departure, leavetaking*
bùzúzù	*of one with too much hair*
cácá	*of talking noisily*
cám	*of someone appearing suddenly*
cámbár	*of something filled completely*
càmcàm/ comcom	*of something sour*
cáp	*of brisk and deliberate walking; of abrupt departure on animal or vehicle; of splashing water on one's face*
cár	*of tearing or ripping e.g. cloth (=* **pár, píyár***)*
cárák	*of cleanliness after washing; bathing (=* **cáral, sə́rál***)*
cárál	*see* **cárák**
cát	*of cutting with a knife (=* **kát***)*
cáucáu	*of small thin person*
cés	*of sand spilled or lying around in piles; of small hard objects (e.g. cowrie shells) when piled or counted*
cígə́lá	*of abundance of possessions*
cílám	*of sad expression on one's face*
cíláng	*of very clean water*
cíllíwú, cíllúwú	*of very small amount*
cíp	*of exact set of ten objects, math term for "set"; of being fully prepared; of group sitting down simultaneously*
cís	*of shorntess of a person; of group of small objects*
cít	*of color red (=* **fít***)*
cíwét	*of smallness*
cói	*of erectness of something standing straight up (=* káng, zói*)*
cól	*of smallness of buttocks*
cóm	*of something very sour*
cóncón	*of something sharp, pointed*

Appendix 7: Specific Adverbs (Ideophones)

cór	*of sound of strong direct stream of liquid*
cócórót, córót, cót	*of something done totally, completely, definitively*
cú(u)	*of rain coming down in buckets*
cúl	*of seeing something with one's own eyes* (= súl)
cúr	*see* cíp
cúrúp	*see* cíp
cúrús	*of objects scattered or spread out*
cús'	*of small change e.g. shillings*
cúwál	*of something that flashes in the eyes*
dáb	*of steady deliberate walking; of something sticky/sticking*
dám	*of abruptly putting something down; of something known very well*
dél	*of place very near, job nearly finished*
də́gsá, də́ksá	*of unkempt look of someone with hair too long*
də́m	*of foreceful deliberate walking; of short and unattractive person*
də́msàsà	*of large fully branched tree*
də́ngás	*of a woman when seated*
déngéngér	*of a large head*
də́p	*of seizing or grabbing something abruptly*
də̀ràk	*of dull non-descript taste, neither sweet nor sour, bland*
də́ràm	*of shooting of a gun*
də́rzə́k	*of abundance of e.g. mangoes growing in clusters; of rash suddenly breaking out*
də̀sdə̀s	*dark-coloured, brownish (of cloth)*
dír	*of an abandoned corpse*
dógdóg	*of someone/something small and compact* (= dúdúk, dúgdúg)
dúdúk	*see* dógdóg
dúgdúg	*see* dógdóg
fáa	*of liquid gushing out continuously or in single burst*
fádáu	*of something very light in weight*
fái	*of just hearing recent news*
fálái	*of sudden uncovering or opening wide*
fám	*of proceeding fumblingly*
fángá	*of gait of a sick person*
fángáu	*of ears that stick out*
fár	*of sudden flowing of tears*
fárái	*of very middle of the night*
fárák	*of something wide open; of splitting open wide*
fáráu	*of waking up suddenly; of distinctness of taste of e.g. pepper in food* (= márán)
fásák	*of very wealthy person*
fátáfátá	*of action of scurrying around*
fáták	*of rock/stone surprisingly light in weight*
fáw	*of tearing one's skin in a full; of blowing away of e.g. hut roof by strong wind* (= píáú)
fét	*of great length of something/someone*
fə́də́k	*of suddenly swallowing something; of total blindness of someone*
fə́də́m	*of totally forgetting something*
fə́ng	*of rapid or sudden cutting action*
fə́ngá, fə́ngángá	*of something big and unwieldy; of someone approaching slowly and deliberately.*
fə́r, fə́rə́t	*of abrupt departure of e.g. thief; of abrupt take-off into flight*(=fíú)
fə́rát	*of movement straight ahead*
fə́rə́m	*of looking everywhere for something lost*
fíló	*of things scattered all over*

fír, fírít	*of spinning e.g. a top with one's fingers; of farting/breaking wind*
fírát	*of sudden pulling out or unsheathing* (=fíyát)
fírót	*of slow, steady pulling out or unsheathing*
físók	*of abrupt departure from embarassing or shameful situation*
fít	*of coldness of something; of dearness of price; see* cít
fítífítí	*of running or scurrying around*
fíu	*see* fə́r, fə́rə́t
fíyát	*see* fírát
fíyáu	*of sudden opening or uncovering*
fói	*of a wide open hole*
fók	*of something very white* (= pók)*; of hatching of an egg*
fóng	*of something left wide open; of stepping on something*
fóróró	*of something very far away*
fòròs	*of off color of red*
fòsòsò	*of off color of blue*
fót	*of surprising lightness of something; of sudden running away*
ful	*of pleasant warmness of something*
fúlúlú	*of spilling liquid*
fúrús	*of hole broken in e.g. clay jar*
fúu	*of steady falling of rain* (= kúu)*; of blowing of wind*
gáa	*of strong unpleasant odor*
gájáa	*of sudden opening of door or lid*
gáják	*of suddenly thinking of e.g. an idea; of old or important person seated*
gàjáɓ	*of old person seated*
gák	*of idea suddenly entering one's mind* (= gə́s)
gáljám	*of something chock full of water*
gám	*of something standing perfectly still*
gánjál	*of too much food being left over*
gàràng	*of loosely woven basket*
gə́də́k	*of something extremely heavy*
gə́jáb, gə́jə́b	*of age of very old man*
gə́jə́m	*see* bə́ljə́m
gə́jíb	*of an old man*
gə̀làng	*of dangling appearance of something loosely attached*
gə́ljə́m	*see* bə́ljə́m
gə́m	*of one's silence when tolerating something disagreeable*
gə́mgə́m	*of short and stout person*
gə̀nə̀s	*of gait of someone with slight limp*
gə́rál	*of lying down to rest comfortably*
gə́rə́ɓ	*of sudden taking something from someone; of falling down*
gə́s	*see* gák
gə̀zə̀zə̀ɓ	*of bulkiness of oversized clothing*
gíbgíb	*of shortness of someone's neck*
gíɓ	*of shortness of a person*
gìrìrí	*of great length of something*
górsòlè	*huge, etc.*
gúr	*of looking or staring/glaring*
gúyáa	*of strong unpleasant odor; of large quantity of water*
hái	*of being totally relaxed*
hák	*of similarity of nearly identical people/things*
hár	*of hottest part of hot season* (= háu, háyír)
háráu	*of light blue color* (= sáráu)
háu	*see* hár
háyír	*see* hár

Appendix 7: Specific Adverbs (Ideophones)

jàm	*of something happening in a little while*
jáwúlín	*of e.g. pile of things in chaotic state of disarray*
jə́m	*of something very big*
jíi	*of largeness of open space, spread out village, etc.*
jít	*of unloading or putting down a heavy load*
jú	*of coins, small change*
júgúdə́m	*of unkepmt uncut hair*
kádák	*of gait of someone walking in midday heat; of child's running gait*
káláng	*of uncontrolled gait of e.g. a drunk*
káng	*see* cói
kányáu	*of emaciated thin state of the body*
káp	*of exactness of the fit of e.g. shoes; of sudden grabbing or catching something (=* ráp*); of action of mounting a steed*
kás	*of sudden breaking or being cut in two*
kát	*see* cát
kék	*of being full to the top*
kél	*of catching or grabbing with a snap*
kéng	*of binding or tying very tightly*
kér	*of something very hard/solid/immovable*
kés	*of shortness of a person*
kə́dák	*of stepping on a pile of slimy material*
kə́də́k	*of being completely silent*
kə́lə́b	*of going under water; of complete penetration or immersion i.e. going all the way in*
kə́m	*of silent tolerant resignation to a bad situation; of being silent*
kə́mbə́l	*of girth of very fat person*
kə́mə́t	*of clenching e.g. fists to summon up courage before acting*
kə́nə́k	*of fully loaded donkey*
kə́p	*of people etc. lying or huddling close together in crowded space; of pouring out a foamy liquid*
kə́rə́k	*of bulkiness of two-sided load on pack animal*
kə́rə́m	*of meanderings of someone who seems to be everywhere; of falling down motion*
kə́rə́p	*of closing/locking/shutting very tightly*
kə́rəl	*of two things/people coming close together or being juxtaposed; of exactness of number two*
kə́rə́s	*of chewing something crunchy*
kə́shìshì	*of fatness of very heavy person*
kə́t	*of doing something directly without hesitation or doubt*
kímét, kímít	*of e.g. fist when tightly clenched*
kíyáu	*of chewing something crunchy e.g. groundnuts*
kók	*of pecking*
kól	*of sharp rapping with the knuckles*
kóng	*of blatant appearance of something stuck in that protrudes awkwardly; of something sticking out all alone (=* kúlóng)
kórsòlè	*of something big, astonishingly huge*
kórtóng	*of shortness of clothes that don't fit on limbs of body*
kúdíkúdí	*of running or scurrying around*
kújáng, kújéng	*of scattering things thrown out*
kújók	*of something/someone very small*
kúlám	*of ceaseless overeating (=* kúnyám)
kúlét	*of lightly touching someone*
kúlít	*of being perfectly still, motionless*
kúlóng	*see* kóng

Appendix 7: Specific Adverbs (Ideophones)

kúndél	*of extreme happiness/ contentment*
kúu	*see* fúu
kúndúk	*of someone short and stout*
kúnyám	*see* kúlám
kúnyéi	*of sudden falling to the ground in death e.g. a body after being shot* (= nyéi, nyéng)
kúrás	*of action of slaughtering*
kúrók	*of falling down*
kúzók	*see* kújók
kwát	*of quick grabbing action; of rapid cutting action*
kwítíkwítí	*of running or scurrying around*
kyák	*of being completely full*
kyéng	*of a stocky person*

lái	*of something that has cooled off e.g. food that is ready to eat*
lát	*of lying flat on one's stomach* (= lít)
láu	*of ability to run fast; of steady progress forward*
láyátíb	*of someone deathly ill*
lə́m	*of something/someone completely hidden*
lə́p	*of very early morning; of something very soft*
lə́rə́m	*of weak and listless feeling*
lə́s	*of weak feeling without energy*
língét	*of weak hungry feeling*
lít	*see* lát
líulíu	*of extreme sharpness of a blade*
líwét	*see* língét
lói	*of something pointed or moving upwards*
lóilói	*of a child running*
lóng	*of being totally alone, by oneself; emphasizes number one*
lòsòk	*of something loosely tied with slack*
lúngói	*of something crooked or zigzagging*
lúwúlúwút	*of something slimy e.g. okra sauce*

máráu	*see* fáráu
máu	*of sour taste*
mbáng	*of abrupt stabbing with a knife*
mbéng	*of tightly bound parcel, etc.; of a clumsy awkward person* (= mbúm)
mbəlíng	*of darting motion of usu. an insect off and away*
mbə́rə́k, mə́rə́k	*of uprooting action*
mbói, mból	*of brightness of sunlight*
mbót	*of delivery or birth of offspring by mother*
mbúlók	*of action of something popping out suddenly*
mbúm	*of clumsy, unintelligent person* (= mbéng)
mə́də́k	*of keeping perfectly silent* (= mít); *of sudden swallowing*
mə̀lát	*of licking action*
mə́lə́t	*of action of completely filling/blocking/stuffing*
mə́r	*of an angry look on someone's face*
mə́rái	*of sitting comfortably at ease*
mə́t	*of sudden action of insertion or penetration* (= nzə́mə́t, sə́mə́t)
mí	*of sound of dragging something on the ground*
míl	*of tininess of something; of pinching with the fingers*
mít	*see* mə́də́k
míu	*of goodness/sweetness of food*
mízók	*of motion of getting up suddenly*
mók	*of splitting headache, throbbing pain*

Appendix 7: Specific Adverbs (Ideophones)

mórók	*see* mízók
múk	*of action of hitting, striking a blow*
múrók	*of action of getting up abruptly*
mút	*of something very far/distant; of suddenly dying*
ndáksáng	*of bitterness of something edible*
ndə́m	*of an abandoned heap or pile of things*
ndə́ng	*of very stuffed up nose*
ndə́t	*of abrupt clean cutting action*
ndók	*of something nice and round*
ngáng	*of something standing erect/upright/sticking up*
ngéng	*of something short, stout but not too heavy*
ngóng	*of something very bad/unpleasant/sad*
ngúl	*of something/someone hidden behind something*
njáng	*of a number or quantity to mean "just/only"* (= njéng)
njígít	*of slicing e.g. onions*
njíwét	*of cutting something into small pieces*
njíyít	*of smallness of e.g. a piece of kola*
njók	*of something very small in size*
nyéi, nýng	*of great quantity; see* kúnyéi
nyét	*of being totally dead*
nzə́m	*of dying of an animal* (= tə́m)
nzə́mə́t	*see* mə́t
nzə́n	*of abundance of something left over*
nzə́ng	*of an unfriendly scowling person*
nzún	*of strong unpleasant smell*
pár	*see* cár
pásák	*of objects all spread out*
pə́m	*of dull thudding noise*
pə́nás	*of seated group on wide clean comfortable sandy space*
pə́r, pə́rə́t	*of hastened departure of a thief*
pə́rə́k	*of sound of breaking wind/farting*
pə́t, pə́tə́k	*of intensity of color black*
píáu	*see* fáw
píi	*of sound of breaking wind/farting*
pít	*of something very cool/cold*
píyár	*see* cár
pók	*see* fók
rák	*of something medium-sized, just right in size*
rál	*of sound of objects clanging together*
ráp	*see* káp
ráw	*of things sticking up straight e.g. donkey's ears*
réng	*of something fully stuffed or swollen*
rə́b	*of something/someone lying flat on the ground*
rə́mə́r, rə́mə́s	*of total destruction effected by a fire*
rə́mə́t	*of eyes when tightly closed*
rə́mrə́m	*of rapid chewing action; of someone short and stout*
rús	*of round objects lying around, e.g. eggs*
sáa	*of breeze blowing cooly*
sák	*of movement straight ahead*
sálák	*of something that is the very first/last*
sáláp	*of crying or sobbing*
sár	*of things/people lined up in a straight line*

Appendix 7: Specific Adverbs (Ideophones)

sár	*of something very hard*
sárái	*of newness of something*
sáráu	*see* háráu
sə́b	*of collective simultaneous action*
sə́g	*of crying or sobbing*
sə́lái	*of state of well being*
sə́lák	*of quickly and completely undressing*
sə́lít	*of quick entrance of e.g. squirrel into its hole*
sə́mbák	*of gait of a fat person*
sə̀mbàmbàm	*of large fleshy buttocks*
sə́mə́t	*see* mə́t
sə́n	*of swallowing action*
sə́r	*of state of good health; of being dry/thin/emaciated*
sə́rák	*of movement straight ahead*
sə́rál	*see* cárák
sə́rám	*of abrupt entrance into e.g. one's home*
shál	*of nothingness*
sháng	*of total absence or non/appearance of e.g. someone expected*
sílíwú	*of something that has completely cooled off*
súl	*of complete emptiness; of being poor or empty-handed; see* cúl
súr	*of smallness of group of objects; of spilling of a liquid; of exactness of number of one's children*
tái	*of going all out to do something*
tánáná	*of late afternoon pre-dusk period*
táp	*of clapping hands*
tám	*of abruptly putting something down*
tárái	*of getting ready, gathering one's wits to act* (= tə́rái)
tás	*of something placed or put down*
táshák	*of things broken and spread around in disarray*
ték	*of short person*
tékkér	*of short person*
tél	*of extreme whiteness of something*
tə́gə́t	*of something surprisingly heavy for its size* (= túwút)
tə́l	*of being very dusty*
tə́lə́p	*of someone very drunk*
tə́lə́s	*of spending the entire day doing something*
tə́lín	*of gushing out of smoke*
tə́m	*see* nzə́m
tə́mə́n	*of dusty or foggy appearance of atmosphere*
tə́ndə́s	*of shortness of a person*
tə́ng	*of short ugly appearance*
tə́ngə́s	*of gait of a short person*
tə́r	*of rapidly drinking alot of a liquid*
tə́rái	*see* tárái
tə́rám	*of action of person walking confidently, purposefully*
tə̀rə̀mtə̀rə̀m	*of early morning period from 3-5 a.m.*
tə́rə́m	*of quantity/size/completeness of pile or collection of things*
tə́rə́t	*of greenness/rawness/wetness of something*
tə́s	*of nearness*
tə́sə́k	*of plant having heavily clustered fruit*
tíngís	*of very short person*
tínyí	*of immediate action by two or more people*
tís	*of shortness*
tíu	*of sound of a fart*

Appendix 7: Specific Adverbs (Ideophones)

tók	*of setting aside/putting down/forgetting something*
tókú	*of immediate action by two or more people*
túr	*of a direct non-stop route*
tútútú	*of screaming or crying*
túwút	*see* tə́gə́t

wáa	*of total silence of untalkative person*
wái	*of recentness or soonness*
wál	*of slaughtering of an animal; of flashing of lightning*
wáng	*of wide open state of a door; of an area totally void of people*
wáp	*of sudden standing up motion*
wárái	*of unexpected dawning of a new day*
wárás	*of being awake throughout the night*
wásák	*see* pásák
wáwá	*of loudness of crying or screaming*
wór	*of the sound of a gust of wind*
wúl	*of brightness of a light flashing on*
wów	*of dog barking*
wúlák	*of flashing or shining light*
wúrál	*of sun shining brightly; of cleanness of washed clothing*
wùrjàwùrjá	*of continuous activity and movement, e.g. of a lizard*
wúsúl	*of being pure or 100% e.g. Kanuri*
wú, wúwú	*of hyena's howling*

yáng	*of perplexed, austere, staring look*
yápsásá	*of pitiful appearance of a person*
yáwáwá	*of an ugly unpleasant person*
yír	*of blazing heat of the sun*

zái	*of having just arrived*
zál	*of something standing straight and erect*
zàmzàm	*of light drizzle of rain that passes quickly*
zát	*of lying down flat, close to ground*
zə́bzə́b	*just enough, just right*
zə́l	*of something popping or jumping out suddenly*
zə́m	*of swelling of e.g. a wound*
zə́wə́t	*of spending the entire day doing something*
zói	*see* cói
zól	*of deliberate stalking gait; of something jutting or sticking up*
zúr	*of group that is uniquely female*
zúu	*of movement or sudden departure of large group of animals/people*

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